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GARIBALDI'S AMERICAN CONTACTS AND HIS CLAIMS TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

THE three master minds which made Modern Italy were, in the formation of their oft conflicting political designs, profoundly influenced by foreign thought and environment. The vision of each was fundamentally and characteristically Italian, but had a wide international range gained from long, or repeated, residence abroad.

Cavour in the period of early manhood traveled, his keen eyes wide open, in France, England, and other European countries, and throughout his life went often to Switzerland where he visited Genevan relatives. He was always a close student and admirer of British forms of government. Mazzini spent most of his life in forced exile in France, Switzerland, and England, and with many of the citizens of those countries he lived in the greatest intimacy. Garibaldi roamed in both hemispheres, particularly in the Western Hemisphere, for twenty years, until he had reached middle life. During that period, as well as later, he established many important contacts with the United States and more than once he claimed the rights of American citizenship. These American experiences were closely interwoven in several of the most notable events of Garibaldi's life and it is here proposed, in the light of new documents, to consider a few of those which have been inadequately recorded by his biographers.

Colonel John Peard, "Garibaldi's Englishman" of the campaigns of 1859 and 1860, when asked by an American naval officer for an introduction to the general, professed to be glad to give it, "because he knew what affection Garibaldi had for Americans".[1] Peard might have added as another reason that in the course of many years Garibaldi had received varied and tangible proofs of the love and admiration of citizens of the United States.

[1] Unpublished letter of Peard, Apr. 23, 1865, presenting Thomas B. Ives to Garibaldi. Preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

Garibaldi's first recorded relations with a representative of the American government were of the year 1849, at the dismal close of Rome's heroic, ineffectual resistance against the overwhelming arms of France. On the day preceding that on which the victors entered the fallen city Garibaldi, who had directed the defense with extraordinary skill and energy, received the following note from the American vice consul:[2]

Citoyen Général:

Le soussigné a été chargé par Mr. Cass, Ministre Plenipotentiere des États Unis d'Amerique a Rome, de vous prier da passer chez lui dans la journée, mais le plus tôt possible, Hôtel de Russie, Via Babuino N. 9.

Ma commission remplié il ne me reste qu'a vous souhaiter santé et bonheur.

Du Consulat des États Unis d'Amerique,
Rome le 2 Juillet 1849.

A. Ardisson, Vice-Consul.

The little document is important as confirming statements made in Garibaldi's not always accurate *Autobiography*.[3] The general lost little time in setting out for the Hôtel de Russie, but on the way he met Cass, who told him with great kindness that an American corvette was at Civitavecchia, the nearest large seaport, and would be held at his disposal if he wished to embark together with any of his friends who might be compromised. Garibaldi never forgot this first hearty American offer of help in a dark hour, though he refused it, preferring to march out from Rome that night at the head of some four thousand men in the hope of retrieving Rome's fortune in another part of Italy.

A few months later, as an exile to whom many countries refused admittance, he sought refuge at Gibraltar, but was ordered by the English governor to leave within a week. This "kick to the fallen", as Garibaldi termed it, cut him "to the heart",[4] but he found consolation in the friendly attitude of American naval officers in the port who were so impressed with his strength and dignity in adversity that they offered to carry him off to the United States in a warship. Again, though grateful, he refused American assistance, being then unwilling to go far away from Italy where he hoped that the war for independence might soon be resumed. Leaving Gibraltar he found hospitality for six months under the Turkish flag at Tangier, and it was there that

[2] Unpublished. Preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

[3] *Autobiography* (London, 1889), II. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, II. 51–52.

he addressed the following letter to the resident American consul general, whom he knew and with whom he was on the best of terms:

Tangier, 22nd. February 1850.

To the citizen T. H. Hyatt Esq.
U. S. Consul General in Morocco.

Sir:—

Finding myself banished, and in a strange country, I am desirous of resuming my former profession as a commander of a merchant vessel.

I beg your permission and protection to set up the North American flag on a vessel belonging to Mr. F. Carpanetto of Genoa, which is to be under my command; and I will strictly observe whatever instructions or regulations you may deem proper to impose for the purpose. I confidently appeal to the generous hospitality and proverbial courtesy which the United States Government and People so generously extend towards the proscribed friends of liberty of whatever nation they may be.

I remain, Sir,
Yours, etc.

G. Garibaldi.

On the battle-field Garibaldi had never been accustomed to count the enemy before attacking, and he had won so many victories against seemingly hopeless odds that he came to regard all obstacles in life as surmountable. This made him often unpractical in political and diplomatic matters, and in private life led him to make suggestions, as in this letter, without giving much consideration to inherent difficulties. His request for authorization to fly the American flag on his prospective merchant vessel implied high respect for our colors, though the request was undoubtedly inspired by consideration of Carpanetto's commercial interests. It would seem that Hyatt, when previously appealed to in conversation, had pronounced the project feasible,[5] but in his written reply the consul general made clear the difficulties:

Consulate General of the United States.
Tangier, February 23, 1850.

Sir:—

Your note of yesterday expressing a wish to adopt the Flag of the United States as your ensign and protection in sailing a merchant vessel, has been received. I shall be most happy to forward your views, and to render you any service in my power consistent with my duties to my own Government. But in order to entitle a vessel to all the protection and privileges of an American vessel, it must be owned by American citizens, registered at an American port and manned by a moiety, at least, of American seamen. Such are the regulations made imperative by our laws. Nevertheless, if our Government can consistently with its usages and settled policy, vary these

[5] Garibaldi, *Scritti* (Rome, 1907), p. 51.

regulations to meet the exigencies of any individual case analogous to yours, I doubt not they will be disposed to do so on this occasion. For, while it is the desire and established policy of our Government to maintain with fidelity and integrity its good faith and amicable relations with all nations, yet the spirit of our People and the Genius of our Institutions, make it a duty incumbent upon us to succor and protect the oppressed and proscribed of all countries, who appeal to us for protection, and especially those who are the victims of tyranny and martyrs to freedom. With this view, I shall submit your application to the consideration of our Government at Washington, and doubt not it will meet a reception commensurate with its merits.

Very respectfully yours,

T. Hart Hyatt.

To Gen. Garibaldi, late Commander in Chief of the Republican Army of Rome, etc., etc., etc.

Two days later Hyatt forwarded Garibaldi's request to Washington with as hearty an indorsement as an able government official could give:

Consulate General of the United States.
Tangier, February 25, 1850.

No. 20.

Hon. J. M. Clayton, etc., etc., etc.

Sir:—

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you a letter from Gen. Garibaldi, late commander in chief of the republican forces of Rome, in which he solicits the privilege of sailing a merchant vessel under our National Flag, and also a copy of my reply to his application. Since the overthrow of the Roman Republic by the French, and the consequent dispersion of the Republican army of Rome, Gen. Garibaldi has been a proscribed and wandering exile from his country, and has been sojourning here for some three months past, and by his quiet, gentlemanly and amiable deportment has secured the friendship and good will of those who have made his acquaintance. His present application I believe to be made in good faith and with a single desire to pursue an honest calling that will afford him an independent livelihood. Mr. Carpenetti, the gentleman of Genoa who is to furnish the vessel for him, is a brother of the Sardinian Consul General who resides in Tangier,[6] (and with whom Gen. G. is now living) and is, I understand, a gentleman of character and responsibility. Should you, on laying the matter before the President, decide that it would be possible and expedient to grant him the favor solicited, with such restrictions and safeguards as to preclude any possibility of the privilege being abused, you would undoubtedly be conferring a very great benefit upon an unfortunate patriot and a zealous and worthy champion of Liberty.

Very respectfully yours,

T. Hart Hyatt.

[6] This was a mistake. Garibaldi's friend in Genoa was Francesco Carpanetto, while the name of the Sardinian consul general at Tangier was Giovanni Battista Carpenetti. In contemporary documents and letters both names were often mispelled.

The archives of the American legation at Tangier, from which these three unpublished documents have been obtained, preserve no reply from the Department of State to Hyatt. Whatever the answer may have been, if there were any, it cannot have been discouraging, for in June Garibaldi left Tangier for New York via Liverpool. The merchant vessel which Francesco Carpanetto was to place under his command, was to be paid for by the subscriptions of Garibaldi's Italian friends, but the ship had not yet been secured and after much deliberation it had been decided to purchase or construct it in America under Garibaldi's personal direction. "As to the flag", he wrote to Carpanetto from Liverpool, "I think that there will be no difficulty." [7]

It was, then, the hope of being able to navigate "under the powerful flag of the United States", as he termed it, that led this most celebrated of Italy's emigrants to take passage at Liverpool for New York on June 27, 1850. The general's fame had preceded him, and on July 30 the New York *Tribune* contained the following paragraph:

> The ship *Waterloo* arrived here from Liverpool this morning, bringing the world renowned Garibaldi, the hero of Montevideo and the defender of Rome. He will be welcomed by those who know him as becomes his chivalrous character and his services in behalf of Liberty.

A brilliant popular demonstration had been planned for the arrival of Garibaldi. He was to be met at the Battery by a great public procession, welcomed by Mayor Woodhull, and escorted by the procession to the Astor House where the management had invited him to be their guest. Later a banquet was to be tendered him at the same hotel.[8] The modest exile, however, wished no such public honors and, furthermore, he had been seized on the voyage by a severe attack of rheumatism and was unable to walk. The organizers of the proposed procession and banquet wished to postpone both until he should recover, but the general in a letter[9] full of dignity and grateful appreciation stood firm in his refusal to be fêted:

[7] Garibaldi, *Scritti*, p. 63.

[8] New York *Tribune*, July 26–30, 1850.

[9] *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1850. The letter has remained unknown to Garibaldi's Italian biographers and is not included in his *Scritti*. French, German, and other republican and socialist exiles were to have participated in the procession with the clear understanding that they might display their red flags or badges, but in preparing for the event German workmen had engaged in excesses which it had been necessary to repress energetically. Garibaldi probably knew this, and a wish not to be implicated in possible disorderly demonstrations of a political character may have influenced him in his refusal of the proposed public honors. In adversity he was a consistent apostle of harmony.

Hastings, 7th August, 1850.

To the Italian Committee:
Gentlemen:

I regret being obliged to announce to you that my continued ill health will forbid my participating in your proposed demonstration of Saturday next. The slowness of my convalescence and the uncertainty as to the time when I may recover, will also put it out of my power to fix any day when I shall be able to meet you in compliance with your kind and very flattering invitation. I hope you will allow me to repeat to you, more earnestly if possible than before, the wish that I have often expressed, that the proposed demonstration may be altogether abandoned.

No such public exhibition is necessary to assure me of the sympathy of my countrymen, of the American people, and of all true Republicans in the misfortunes which I have suffered, or of the cause out of which they have flowed.

Though a public manifestation of this feeling might yield much gratification to me, an exile from my native land, severed from my children, and mourning the overthrow of my country's freedom by means of foreign interference, yet believe me that I would rather avoid it, and be permitted, quietly and humbly, to become a citizen of this great Republic of Freemen, to sail under its flag, to engage in business to earn my livelihood, and await a more favorable opportunity for the redemption of my country from foreign and domestic oppressors.

Next to the cause to which I have devoted myself, I value nothing so highly as the approbation of this great People, and I am convinced I shall enjoy that, when they become satisfied that I have honestly and faithfully served the cause of Freedom, in which they have themselves set so noble an example to the world.

G. Garibaldi.

This document contains the first intimation that we have of Garibaldi's desire to acquire American citizenship. The laws of the United States provided that the captain of a ship flying the American flag must be an American citizen, and it was probably this legal consideration which inspired his desire. But it should also be said that he was greatly impressed with the United States, and a few weeks after his arrival he wrote: "This nation is certainly superior to its reputation and will soon stand out as the first among the greatest." [10]

There has been considerable discussion among diplomats and historians as to whether or not Garibaldi actually acquired American citizenship; and his own statements in the matter at different times have been conflicting. There is no question that in 1851 he obtained an American passport, for it has been preserved among his papers and published in facsimile by G. E. Curàtulo, who strangely enough leaves

[10] Garibaldi, *Scritti*, p. 68.

the question of citizenship open.[11] The passport was issued on April 2, 1851, by Mayor A. C. Kingsland under the seal of the City of New York and reads: "The bearer hereof, Joseph Garibaldi, *who has declared his intention to become a* citizen of the United States of America etc. etc." The passport is the usual printed form of the time, but the words here given in italics were written in. Mayor Kingsland requests "friendly aid and protection" for Garibaldi as if he were an American citizen, but the words *"who has declared his intention to become"* would not have been inserted if citizenship had already been acquired by the bearer. Our naturalization laws required of applicants renunciation of citizenship in any foreign country and residence in the United States for five years. Garibaldi's residence was only for nine months, 1850–1851, and for four months, 1853–1854. It is clear that he never completed the process of naturalization, and even if he had done so his American citizenship would later have been tacitly renounced by his acceptance of a seat in the Italian parliament, to which he was repeatedly elected in and after 1861. This must be kept in mind in viewing the claims to American citizenship and protection which we shall see that Garibaldi afterward made.

Garibaldi's sojourn in the United States was full of disappointment. Carpanetto was able to obtain in Italy the promise of only three of the necessary ten subscriptions of 10,000 lire each for the purchase of the proposed merchant vessel which Garibaldi was to command, and the project was consequently abandoned. In order to earn his bread the general took employment in a candle factory just established by one of his old officers, Antonio Meucci, who later contributed to the invention of the telephone. The factory was located on Staten Island, where Garibaldi lived in the family of Meucci, whose house has since been converted into a Garibaldian museum. Friends of the general tried, but unsuccessfully, to obtain for him a presidential appointment to a position in the Post Office Department.[12] His life at best was melancholy, yet he had many close Italian friends and many American well-wishers, while from various parts of the Union came letters of congratulation and sympathy for his patriotic action, past and future, and even love letters from feminine admirers. Everywhere he won respect by his modesty, simplicity, and thorough integrity of character, as well as by his pure patriotism and firm faith in the future of Italy. He was never

[11] G. E. Curàtulo, *Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour* (Bologna, 1911).

[12] H. Nelson Gay, *Il Secondo Esilio di Garibaldi, 1849–1854, da Documenti Inediti*, published in the *Nuova Antologia* (June 16, 1910), and also separately.

greater than during those months of extreme adversity. Among the Americans whom he knew was Theodore Dwight, to whom he intrusted the manuscript of his memoirs,[13] William Cullen Bryant, and Henry Theodore Tuckerman, who has left an excellent portrait of Garibaldi as he appeared in New York at that time.[14] The scantiness of his knowledge of English prevented him from mixing freely with Americans, but his poverty and his unwillingness to receive for himself the bounty of strangers also restrained him.

While he was thus living in frugal retirement, despotic centers of Europe teemed with reports of his supposed presence and activities there. The Palermo police professed to be having his footsteps dogged in France and declared that under the pseudonym, John Lelong of Montevideo, he had obtained command of a North American merchant vessel, the *Sarat,* with which he proposed to visit Mediterranean ports and stir up insurrection. Warnings came from Naples of extended plots and phantom ships piloted by Garibaldi hovering about the coast. Other reports had it that he was near Geneva with ample means making extensive arrangements with Mazzini to revolutionize Italy in the spring.[15] And on March 7, 1851, the New York *Tribune* published a little editorial:

> Italy is in terror about Garibaldi, who is said to be at Genoa, ready to overturn the world. This will be news to him as he quietly reads his *Tribune* tomorrow morning at his home on Staten Island.

To Garibaldi it proved a welcome release when Carpanetto, who was an enterprising trader with important connections in South America, arrived in New York and sought to compensate for his failure to get a ship for Garibaldi, by taking him, on April 28, 1851, as his companion on a business trip to Peru. There the general was able to take out a skipper's license and was given command of an Italian-owned bark of 400 tons burden, the *Carmen,* with which he made a voyage to China and return, and then another voyage with a cargo of copper and wool from Peru and Chile to Boston. Early in 1854 his wish to command a ship flying the Star-Spangled Banner was fulfilled. A fine

[13] Dwight, a decade later, published from this manuscript the first edition of Garibaldi's memoirs, now quite rare: *The Life of General Garibaldi, written by himself, . . . translated by his Friend and Admirer Theodore Dwight* (New York, 1859).

[14] Tuckerman, apropos of William Arthur's *Guiseppe Garibaldi, North American Review,* January, 1861.

[15] Unpublished police report dated Palermo, Sept. 17, 1850, in the Nelson Gay archives in Rome. Also article in the New York *Tribune,* Feb. 17, 1851.

sailing vessel, the *Commonwealth,* was placed by her owners under his orders, bound from Baltimore for Genoa, via London and Newcastle; but as he was not a citizen of the United States he was obliged to place an American captain in titular command.[16]

Garibaldi never returned to the United States. In 1855, with the savings of his maritime life added to a modest inheritance received from his brother, he purchased property on the rocky island of Caprera off Sardinia, and took up the life of a farmer, impatiently awaiting the time when on the battle-field another blow might be struck for Italian freedom.

In the campaign of 1859 against Austria, Garibaldi, as a major general, commanded a volunteer corps, "Hunters of the Alps", operating on the extreme left wing of the Franco-Italian armies. Neither in this victorious campaign, nor in the quiet years of farm life at Caprera which had preceded it, did he have any relations of importance with Americans. But such relations and, indeed, very important ones, were established the year following in the course of his Sicilian campaign. At the critical moment before the capture of Palermo, when the Garibaldians had scarcely a cartridge left, Captain Palmer of the American warship *Iroquois* transferred practically all the powder he had to an American merchantman and told Garibaldi to go and get it. The English minister accredited to Naples, Sir Henry G. Elliot, refers to Palmer in his diary as "a Yankee captain" who was an "out-and-out sympathiser" with Garibaldi. "It is a curious coincidence", continues Elliot, "that the American ship [*Iroquois*] which was at Palermo during the siege . . . is at this moment so short of powder that she cannot even fire a salute—or rather she was, as she has now borrowed from Admiral Mundy. Can you guess how this came about?" [17]

This Sicilian campaign of 1860, initiated by the famous Thousand, would have ended in disaster had not the first expedition of the Thousand been promptly supported by an expedition under Colonel Medici of nearly 2500 men with 8000 rifles, which landed in Sicily about a month later, from three ships flying the Star-Spangled Banner and commanded by American skippers, true or feigned—the ships being the

[16] Garibaldi, *Epistolario di Guiseppe Garibaldi,* ed. by E. E. Ximenes (Milan, 1885), I. 47.

[17] Sir Henry G. Elliot, *Some Revolutions and Other Diplomatic Experiences* (London, 1922), pp. 28, 39. The quotation from Elliot completes the story of this powder episode as given at greater length in H. N. Gay's article, Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXVII. 219–244.

Washington, the *Franklin,* and the *Oregon.* W. L. Patterson, American consul at Genoa, had risked his position by transferring these vessels to the American register. They had been bought by the Garibaldians for the expedition and transferred to an American straw-owner, William De Rohan, who was a *bona fide* sea captain and commanded the flagship *Washington.* That the American De Rohan was thoroughly inspired with Garibaldian courage and spirit may be seen from the following instructions issued to his little fleet, which have been preserved in his own handwriting. "*Our* man of war" referred to in the instructions was, or at least De Rohan hoped that it would be, either the American warship *Iroquois,* or a Piedmontese warship.[18]

If Palermo be in possession of General Garibaldi, let the ships be steered for that place direct—*all the ships keeping close together.*

Let a man-of-war steamer keep in sight of us, but not so close that it be suspected she is *convoying* us.

If in day-time, the customary signal of distress will be made, which will be fully understood by *our* man-of-war.

By night signals to be arranged as follows, a lantern to be hoisted at the peak. Should a Neapolitan cruiser approach, the lantern will be hauled down.

If the Neapolitan send a boat on board, receive the officer at the foot of the ladder, *not allowing him to board the vessel,* for the law of wartime does not permit any man-of-war of one nation to board the vessel of another nation, without the consent of the persons in charge.

If the officer is not satisfied with the papers, order him off—if he do not go, *haul down immediately the peak lantern* as a signal to *our* man-of-war, the Captain of which then sends a boat on board.

When the boat from our man-of-war arrives say to the officer that we are Americans with all our papers *en régle* and that we ask him to protect us from an arrived vessel *which we do not know* to be a man-of-war of any nation and therefore have *a right to suspect to be a pirate or unlawful privateer.* We then formally invite the officer from our man-of-war on board (leaving the Neapolitan in his boat) to inspect our papers. We show them to him and he then descends the ladder and says to the Neapolitan: "All the ship's papers are duly authenticated by the American authorities, and you the Neapolitan cannot lawfully detain her."

If this be not satisfactory, then the Neapolitan to be warned to go away and if he do not, then our man-of-war *is to be formally requested to receive us under his protection we being rightfully under the American flag.* If the Neapolitan attempt to take us, we are to crowd on all steam, and also all sail if the wind be fair, toward Sicily.

If he overtake us, then we are to board him, bayonet in hand, all our vessels forming a circle around him, so as to scatter his fire.

[18] This unpublished document and the unpublished Medici-De Rohan letters which follow have been communicated to me by Bruno Lido Guastalla from the papers of his father, Enrico Guastalla. A detailed account of the De Rohan-Medici expedition is given in H. N. Gay's article (*cit. supra*).

If it be a running fight, one half the men are to load and the other half to fire the muskets.

Any man disobeying an order or refusing to fight *to be shot on the spot.*

The flag never to be hauled down or the ships to be surrendered, but every man to board with the cry of "Garibaldi e Italia".

De Rohan.

Steamship Washington
Cagliari, 13 June 1860.
A copy of these instructions will be delivered to the Captain of each vessel.

The safe landing of this expedition and of a subsequent expedition of Colonel Cosenz, which De Rohan took out to Sicily from Genoa a month later, made it possible for Garibaldi to bring his campaign in the South to a triumphant conclusion. The following grateful letter (the original in Italian) from Colonel Medici was received by De Rohan shortly after the landing:

Few and free words will suffice for you, a free Citizen of the great American Union.

You have lent the glorious flag of your Nation to the ships *Washington, Franklin* and *Oregon* which have brought the second expeditionary corps to the South. Faith in the cause of Italy, in liberty and in your beautiful star-spangled banner has rendered the winds of fortune propitious. We have put foot on land, we have touched the soil of the heroic Island.

In our battles for the liberty and independence of Italy, and always, we shall think of you with particular regard, and of your Nation with gratitude.

Long live Italy! Long live the United States of America!

To this De Rohan replied:

Alcame.
20 June 1860.

Colonel,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your very kind note of yesterday at Castellamare, and to offer my grateful thanks for the honor you pay me, although at the same time I cannot but feel that your generous feelings have placed far too high an estimate on the trifling service it has been my good fortune, for in that light I regard it, to render the cause of poor down-trodden "Italia". In anything I may have done of good, I have regarded only one guiding star, which I said to you when first you spoke to me, viz. that of being able to do some little act of value that would render me worthy of *one word* of appreciation from the lips of *Giuseppe Garibaldi,* the greatest man of the age whose whole life I reverence with the devotion of a religion, and to gain whose approbation I would risk everything. Yesterday the General more than paid me for my poor labor and I deem it the proudest act of my whole life to have been thanked and embraced by "Il Salvatore d'Italia". May the bright star of his mission which has thus far attended him never pale in its effulgence until Italy shall

rise once more erect and regenerated from amid the bloody oppression and tyranny which have prostrated her for five centuries!

May you also, my friend, be spared to be his right hand as you have so long been, and when the end of this *little dream of life* be over, may you find your reward in the long life of Eternal happiness beyond! . . . .

To you I can hardly say enough for all your kind confidence and friendship, and hope that the opportunity may be granted me in some modest way by the General of doing whatever more I can.

Believe me, Colonel, with high esteem and respect,

Yours faithfully,

De Rohan.

Private Memorandum for Col. Medici

The rendezvous asked for with the American Corvette *"Iroquois"* is at or near *Maritimo* Island, by *Saturday, 12 o'clock.*

De Rohan was taking the empty ship *Washington* back to Genoa for more volunteers and requested Palmer to come with the *Iroquois* to see that Neapolitan warships did not attack him as he was leaving Sicily. Two days later he wrote again to Medici: "I shall be up to receive my last instructions from the General tomorrow about 4 P. M."

A small volume might be filled with letters of Americans who raised money for Garibaldi's cause in 1860, or who offered him their military services, or their sympathy. Two letters from Charles Eliot Norton to A. H. Clough are characteristic, revealing the spirit which inspired these American sympathizers. In June he wrote: "I have been at work to get up a public meeting in the hope of thus reaching the hearts and the pockets of the rich summer residents of Newport." And on September 24: "The progress of Garibaldi is just now even of greater interest to us than that of our election campaign. It is a fine thing to be living in times that can produce such a man, and in which such events as those in Italy are taking place. History was never more interesting than now. The new birth of Italy is already the greatest event of the modern period. It gives one fresh hope for the future,—and whatever disappointments may follow enough has already been done to confirm faith, and to make patience easy." [19]

At the close of his triumphant campaign of Sicily and Naples Garibaldi modestly retired to his farm at Caprera and it was there that President Lincoln, after the disaster of Bull Run in July, 1861, sent an official envoy to enlist his services for the North and offer him a major general's commission. Garibaldi refused Lincoln's offer because he felt that he could be useful only if he were given the supreme command of all

[19] Charles Eliot Norton, *Letters*, I. 210.

the Northern forces, with the right, if conditions should prove propitious, to proclaim the freedom of the slaves.[20]

His next important relations with representatives of the American government were of 1867. In September of that year he openly declared his intention of placing himself at the head of an army of volunteers to invade the Papal States and occupy Rome, in defiance of the Italian government which was bound by treaty with France to prevent any such undertaking. The government justly stigmatized his proposed action as that of a citizen who "placed himself above the law, supplanting the supreme power of the State, arbitrarily upsetting Italy in her difficult task of reorganization and involving her in grave complications". His arrest immediately followed and he was confined in the fortress of Alexandria. A few days later, on September 29, the American chargé d'affaires, Green Clay, sent to Secretary of State Seward the following dispatch, which is self-explanatory:[21]

As a part of the history of the arrest I think it may be of interest to inform you that two days ago I received from General Garibaldi a communication, in which he recounts that while enjoying the hospitality of a friend at Sinalunga he was arrested by an armed force, taken to the citadel of Alexandria and there forcibly confined in an unwholesome apartment—in which his health had already deteriorated—and as an American citizen, he invokes the protection of the United States from this unjust act committed against his person by the Italian government. This communication was accompanied by declarations on the part of his agent to the effect:—that the General is a native of Nice, was naturalized in the United States, and, it being doubtful whether he ever became a subject of Victor Emmanuel, and even now was engaged in no act hostile to his government—is in a position to avail himself of his American naturalization.

I explained satisfactorily and at some length the reasons why the Legation could not intercede officially in his behalf—that, though naturalized in the United States, he had returned to Italy and taken a prominent part in its political affairs, and was even without any intention of going back to America; that even acknowledging his American citizenship he would be equally, if not more rigorously, held to respect the public order of the Italian Kingdom—and of the exigencies of the public safety this government was the sole judge.

I promised, however, to call officiously on the President of the Council and to make known Garibaldi's complaint in regard to his health, and to use any opportunity I might have to procure an amelioration of his imprisonment. I afterwards did call upon Mr. Rattazzi and was informed by

[20] The unpublished documents revealing these negotiations were given by H. N. Gay in an article, Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi, *Century Magazine*, LXXV. 63–74.

[21] This and the following American diplomatic documents, all unpublished, are from the archives of the American embassy in Rome.

him that Garibaldi had that morning been liberated and was to go to Caprera. On my intimation that he had invoked the intercession of the Legation, he seemed very willing to recognize Garibaldi as an American citizen, and begged me to communicate officially the *reclamation*. This I refused to do, but contented myself with expressing the belief and hope that this decision of the Ministry would prove to be to the best interest of Italy.

The political friends of Garibaldi are divided into two camps, and the prestige of his name is contested between them; the parliamentary wing, headed by the leader of the Left in the House of Deputies, disapproved the late contemplated movement; the other, obeying more the occult influence of Mazzini, would welcome an uprising of the Romans only in the shape of a gain to the Republican cause. I suspected that it was while under the momentary influence of the latter party that Garibaldi—embittered by his arrest —decided to demand the protection of the United States, and by that means to render ignominious the King's government in the eyes of Italians and to break completely with the dynastic rule in Italy.

I made no written reply to Garibaldi's demand, but requested the person who was intrusted with the communication of it, to lay before him the views I had expressed. In case he insists on renouncing Italian allegiance and resuming his American citizenship, I expressed my willingness to receive any further communication he might wish to make to substantiate such intention.

This course I thought best to promote the harmony of our official relations and the glory and interest of the distinguished personage concerned.

The popular demonstrations have not been of the imposing character of manifestations of public opinion; nevertheless, the arrest of Garibaldi has created a profound emotion in the minds of the thinking and educated classes and has shaken monarchical faith itself in Italy.

Clay's analysis of the influences that had been brought to bear upon Garibaldi was accurate, and it was doubtless true that the general's motive in claiming American citizenship was to discredit the king's government which had thwarted him. On the other hand, Rattazzi's willingness to recognize this citizenship would indicate that he felt that Garibaldi in renouncing Italian allegiance would bring more discredit upon himself than upon the government. Furthermore, as a foreigner, Garibaldi would be less justified in embarrassing the Italian government in the future by rash revolutionary movements to solve the Roman Question. Each side was ready to use the issue of American citizenship as a political weapon against the other. As to Garibaldi's actual naturalization in the United States Clay soon afterward revised his opinion, writing to the Department of State on October 7: "It has come to my knowledge that in all probability Garibaldi's naturalization in the United States was never perfected; in that case his leaving the country was *prima facie* abandoning any inchoate rights of citizenship."

It is curious to note that before appealing to the American legation

Garibaldi had sent the following note to the British legation at Florence:[22]

Citadel of Alexandria.
September 25, 1867.

Mr. Ambassador:

Having the honor of being a British subject—I demand your high protection—in view of the unjust act committed against my person by the Italian Government.

Yesterday morning while enjoying the hospitality of one of my friends in Sinalunga, I was arrested by an armed force—conducted to this citadel—and lodged in a dirty apartment—where my health has already suffered.

This is the reason for my being obliged to appeal to you—declaring myself, with respect

Your devoted

G. Garibaldi.

To the Ambassador
of His Britannic Majesty
at Florence.

On what Garibaldi based his claim to be a British subject is not clear. Probably he had in mind the citizenship of London offered to him as a courtesy at the Guildhall when he had visited England in 1864. In his political ingenuity he seemed not to realize—indeed, to have forgotten[23]—that in claiming American or British citizenship he was renouncing allegiance to Italy. Why should he not be a citizen of Italy, England, and the United States at one and the same time, claiming the protection of whichever country suited him best at any given moment? It was a triple claim more complicated even than the dual citizenship frequently assumed by Europeans, which has caused so many difficulties to the American Department of State in recent decades.

An Italian fleet blockaded Caprera after its owner's return, but less than a month later Garibaldi eluded its vigilance and escaped to the mainland, placing himself at the head of volunteer forces in what proved to be a disastrous campaign against Rome, ending in defeat by French and papal troops at Mentana. Retreating to Italian territory he

[22] Unpublished. British Museum, 35,251, f. 22. Here translated from the original French.

[23] In a letter to his close friend, C. A. Vecchi, written many years before, on Mar. 9, 1855, Garibaldi had clearly stated that he had "in vain attempted to acquire American citizenship . . . though he had lived in the United States almost a year in the course of two sojourns, had navigated under the American flag, and had enlisted on behalf of his efforts for citizenship all the acquaintances and friends that he had been able to make in the country. The law for naturalization requires . . . renunciation, under oath, of citizenship in any foreign state." Garibaldi, *Epistolario*, I. 47.

was again arrested by the Italian government and was confined at Varignano near Spezia, notwithstanding his protests made "as an Italian deputy and a citizen of the United States". On November 11, a week after his arrest, Garibaldi wrote a note to William T. Rice, American consul at Spezia, asking him to come to Varignano, and stating that "as a citizen of the United States he wished to return to Caprera under protection of the American flag". Rice, who was an old friend of the general, proceeded to bombard the American legation in Florence with telegrams and letters asking that a government permission for him to visit Garibaldi be obtained and that the latter's request for American protection be granted. The consul wrote on November 16:

> I have just received a visit from Mr. Canzio, son in law to General Garibaldi, who has been a prisoner with the General . . . . I have no doubt that should the Italian Government set Garibaldi free he would wish to return to Caprera in one of our Vessels. Cannot you Mr. Marsh arrange it? As it is evident, he will not be confined much longer. In my opinion it would not do for us to refuse the only request Garibaldi has made of us, nor do I think that the American Government or people would approve of it, provided the Italian Government did not object. *You* could request the Captain of one of our vessels to proceed here, and let the said Captain take the responsibility should the request be renewed when the General is a free Agent.

This presumptuous letter crossed one addressed to Rice on November 14 by our sagacious minister to Florence, George P. Marsh:

> I regret to be obliged to say that such information as I can obtain without formal application for permission for you to visit Gen. Garibaldi leads me to believe that such an application would not be granted, and I must therefore decline preferring a request to that effect.
>
> With regard to General Garibaldi's desire to be conveyed to Caprera in an American ship of war, in case he is released by the Italian government, it is to be observed that the Legation has no control over the subject, and as such an act by officers of our navy would be considered a political demonstration, it is probable that the commander of any ship, who should be applied to for that purpose, would think it his duty to ask instructions from the admiral commanding the squadron, who again might perhaps feel himself bound to refer the question to the government at Washington. Under these circumstances, though I should personally be happy to show any proper respect to this distinguished patriot and soldier, yet I do not feel at all at liberty to encourage him in the belief that a ship of war would be put at his disposal for the object in question.
>
> I observe that Genl. Garibaldi claims the right of American citizenship by naturalization. It is proper to remark that this Legation has no evidence that the legal steps required by our laws for the naturalization of aliens were ever taken by Genl. Garibaldi. We are informed, indeed, that the declara-

tion of intention was made by him, but this is unavailing unless it was followed up by further proceedings, of which no proof has ever been furnished us. The question of citizenship often involves nice points of law, and though we are not now called upon to decide on its merits, it is proper that you should be informed that the Legation does not at present consider itself authorized to recognize Gen. Garibaldi as an American Citizen.

Begging you, if opportunity offers, to present to Gen. Garibaldi my best respects and to express to him my regret that my views of official duty do not enable me to meet his wishes now fully, I am etc.

G. P. Marsh.

The Italian government in the meantime had decided to remove restrictions as to Garibaldi's receiving visitors, and on November 19, Rice replied to Marsh as follows:

On Sunday I went to Varignano and was allowed to see the General, and had quite a long private conversation with him. I told him exactly what you said in yours, and explained the reasons why you could not accede to his wishes. He replied that at present it was of no consequence, as the Italian Government are making overtures to him. I could see, however, that he was slightly annoyed. At last he asked me if should the worst come to the worst and he be willing to give up the position of Deputy, allegiance, Country, everything in short, would the American Government recognize him as an American Citizen. I was obliged to speak plainly, as after your two letters I had no alternitive. He understands your motives and feelings towards him, and desired to be warmly remembered to Mrs. Marsh and Yourself.

He informed me (as I presume you already know) that he filed his intention to become an American Citizen, and remained long enough in America, and under the flag to have taken out his papers; but from some oversight or other the final steps were not taken.

The Government offered him the privilege of returning to Caprera if he would give his parole, but this he refused to do. Now he tells me their plan is to give him a war steamer, and let him cruise where he likes, not I presume in Italian waters, however.

His position has been greatly ameliorated within a few days; he can walk out in the grounds without being accompanied by an officer should he desire it, and he tells me that should he request to be permitted to go up to Spezia for a few hours, it would probably be granted, but he will neither ask for nor accept anything.

If he greatly wishes to see any particular person, and mentions it to the Colonel in charge, the permission would be most probably granted.

Garibaldi's reiterated requests for an American warship were perhaps inspired by his recollections of the offer of one made to him by Cass in 1849, and by the American naval officers at Gibraltar in that same year. His irritation against the Italian government had now reached the point where he contemplated renunciation of allegiance to

Italy which he had at last come to admit was implied in assuming American citizenship. The lengths to which he seemed prepared to go became known to many of his friends, and General Nicola Fabrizi, who had been his chief of staff in the recent Roman expedition, wrote on November 13, in grief and astonishment to Canzio, to prevent, if possible, what seemed to him an immense catastrophe. His letter reveals that in the proposal as considered by the Italian prime minister, Menabrea, the American warship was to take Garibaldi not to Caprera, where he would remain a constant threat of fresh revolutionary movements against Rome, but to the United States. If Rice had at first encouraged this idea, he had not revealed it to Marsh.[24]

Florence, 13 November, 1867.

Dear Canzio:

I cannot express to you the pain it causes me to hear that the General is to consent to his own ostracism in America. Above all, that this is to be under the claim of American citizenship. In my opinion this would be our real and only defeat. . . . This solution would be the more unfortunate inasmuch as his American citizenship today would be interpreted by most people as an insult to his Italian citizenship, which would implicitly be discarded and rejected. I consider this matter to be grave in its political consequences, since our position is based on the General as an Italian and in Italy.

I said this to Menabrea when he mentioned to me the arrangement by which the General might decide to go to America [25] as discussed with the American consul. General Garibaldi cannot now for us be other than an Italian and in Italy. A conversation followed in which I ceded no ground. He must not leave his friends, who have not left him, and who never will leave him. Affectionately,

N. Fabrizi.

Fabrizi did not exaggerate the gravity of the step which Garibaldi contemplated. His renunciation of "the position of Deputy, allegiance, Country, everything" would have caused an enormous scandal and widened the existing breach between the hot-headed party of the Left which was impatient to obtain Rome even at the risk of a disastrous war with France, and the equally patriotic party of the Right which placed the authority of the state above the impulses of Garibaldi, and with cooler judgment hoped to obtain Rome later without a clash with France. In serving his own government with prudence Marsh per-

[24] Unpublished. The Italian original preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

[25] Garibaldi may have thought that a declared intention of returning to the United States would help his claims to American citizenship in the eyes of the American legation at Florence.

formed an immense service both to the Italian government and to Garibaldi himself. The great Italian patriot, now sixty years of age, was in a nervous state that at once clouded his memory and made it impossible for him at the moment to exercise the calm, conciliatory judgment which had characterized the supreme decisions of his life. It was evident also that he was under the immediate influence not of his wisest councilors, but of extremists.

The episode, which narrowly escaped smirching Garibaldi's escutcheon, ended in his returning to Caprera in an Italian warship. An open break between him and the monarchy with which in the past he had worked so successfully for Italian unity was avoided, but the danger of the break had been even greater in 1867 than five years before at Aspromonte. Of his claims to American citizenship nothing more was heard, nor in the remaining years of his life had he other important contacts with representatives of the American government.

H. Nelson Gay.

Rome.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PRESS IN MEXICO, 1846–1848

THE story of the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico during the Mexican War not only recalls the military steps by which the southwestern boundary of the United States was pushed to the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean, but serves as an introduction to the history of the press in the Southwest in the subsequent decade. Incidentally it illustrates some of the methods by which enterprising journalists endeavored, during that era, to turn to their own ends that elemental instinct—curiosity. From the time that secret orders were delivered to General Taylor to proceed to Texas and there place his army in position for such action as circumstances might render advisable, all eyes were turned to the Mexican border; and to that region newspaper men rushed, some as correspondents for the important papers of New Orleans and of Northern and Eastern cities, others as volunteers in the army.

Almost overnight the comparatively unsettled border regions of Texas became the scene of action. Troops and supply trains blazed trails through vast uninhabited stretches and established camps in somnolent Mexican villages. Corpus Christi was the first of these to profit from the increased activity; and there, on soil still vigorously claimed by Mexico, the first "war" newspaper, the Corpus Christi *Gazette,* came into existence with the issuance of its first number on January 1, 1846.[1]

One of the publishers of this pioneer sheet was himself a figure of interest. A Bostonian by birth,[2] Samuel Bangs could claim the distinction of having printed at Galveston on February 22, 1817, the first document printed on the soil of Texas—a proclamation of General Mina, of whose expedition he was a member.[3] When the party left by Mina at Sota la Marina was captured, he would have been executed had he not been needed to operate the press which Arredondo transported to Monterey. After many years spent as a printer in Mexico and Texas, in 1845 with war imminent, Bangs saw an opportunity, secured a press at Galveston, reached Corpus shortly after General Taylor, and there formed a partnership with George W. Fletcher, a local physician, with

[1] New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* Jan. 6, 1846; Austin *Texas Democrat,* May 6, 1846.

[2] Probate Records, Suffolk County, XCVIII. 696. For further details concerning Bangs's career, see the writer's article, Samuel Bangs: the first Printer in Texas, in the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XI. 248–258.

[3] Carlos M. Bustamante, *Cuadro Histórico* (Mexico 1844), IV. 317–323.

whom he became joint owner of the new paper. As editor, José de Alba, one of the most important members of the Spanish speaking colony at Corpus, was secured.[4]

The Corpus Christi *Gazette* was no "two-by-four" newspaper; it was a full-sized sheet with four pages to the issue.[5] The type was new and good, woodcuts adorned the advertisements, and the whole paper bore evidence of the hand of an experienced printer, which Bangs certainly was. As an index to life in Corpus at the opening of 1846, the issues of the *Gazette* are priceless. For the little Mexican town was gay beyond belief. With the choice of the Ethopian Serenaders or *Richard III.* at the Army Theater, and "Blackeyed Susan" at the Union, and all the "comforts, conveniences, and luxuries" of which Corpus was "susceptible" offered by the Kinney House, while the Kilgore Oyster Parlor was a lively competitor in the "vinous" line, none needed to be dull. Bakers, butchers, and candlestick makers were at hand; lawyers, doctors, barbers, and hairdressers offered their services, while the confectioner and photographer supplemented the list. Everything from hair mattresses, carved furniture, music boxes, and jewelry, to shoe strings and handkerchiefs was offered to the public in the pages of the *Gazette.* Of news of the outside world, it contributed excerpts from the New York *Sun,* the *National Intelligencer,* and the *Daily Picayune.* In politics its policy was declared to be neutral.

But the days of prosperity for Bangs in Corpus were numbered. During two months the *Gazette* sold well; but by the time business was in full swing, General Taylor had recommended the removal of the troops to the Rio Grande. Upon the receipt of orders to move forward, preparations for the march were begun early in February; and by the end of the month all was in readiness. Day by day the population of Corpus dwindled until, after seeing the last of the troops under way on March 11, Taylor ordered headquarters to follow shortly. On April 2, in an almost deserted town, the fourteenth and last number of the Corpus Christi *Gazette* was issued.[6] No longer was Corpus the center of interest; all eyes were now directed to the lower Rio Grande. And in that same direction did Bangs shortly turn his steps. After securing a new partner, he loaded his press on an oxcart and moved on to the Matamoras region, then the center of military activity.

[4] Prospectus of the Corpus Christi *Gazette* published in the *Texas Democrat,* May 6, 1846.

[5] Vol. I., no. 7, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; no. 12 is in the archives of the war department in Mexico City.

[6] No. 14 is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

In the meantime other printers had reached the scene and sensed the opportunity at hand. Among the first troops to arrive in Texas were the Louisiana Volunteers, of whom one company was composed almost entirely of printers.[7] As these men had enlisted for only six months, their term of service expired and they were mustered out before the army crossed the Rio Grande. The occupation of Matamoras on May 17 made it possible for an enterprising printer to secure the use of a Mexican press, for the town had boasted of a dozen different newspapers in the preceding decade. As a result, on June 1, 1846, the first number of the *Republic of the Rio Grande,* presenting leading articles in both Spanish and English, made its appearance from the press of the former *Boletin.* The new paper was printed on a letter sheet by J. N. Fleeson, a printer from New Orleans, and edited by Hugh McLeod, whose object, as indicated by the title of the paper, was to establish an independent republic out of the four northern states of Mexico—a republic which he, no doubt, planned to have annexed later by the United States.[8] But the title as well as the editorials proved so offensive to the military officials that only a few numbers were issued before McLeod was forced to retire from its management and the name changed to the *American Flag,*[9] under which title the paper became one of the best known and most important of the Rio Grande region. At the retirement of McLeod, the management was taken over by John N. Peoples, another New Orleans printer, who, in turn, was succeeded by J. R. Palmer. In many respects the *American Flag* fully deserved the title conferred upon it—"the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon periodical literature in Mexico"[10]—and many journals depended upon it, throughout the period of the war, for news of happenings at the front.

In the same month in which the first issue of the *Republic of the Rio Grande* was published, another paper, the *Rio Grande Herald,* was announced as shortly to be established at Matamoras by Bangs, of the

[7] *Daily Picayune,* May 6, 1846.

[8] New Orleans *Weekly Delta,* June 15, 22, 29, July 13, 1846; *Daily Picayune,* June 14, 16, 21, 24, 1846.

[9] Houston *Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register,* July 29, 1846.

[10] *Weekly Delta,* July 20, 1846; Feb. 8, 1847. The issues of Nov. 28, 1846, and Apr. 28, May 5, June 2, Aug. 11, 18, Sept. 8, 11, Oct. 2, 6, 13, 16, 23, and Nov. 20, 1847, are in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society; that of Aug. 28, 1847, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and those of Nov. 14, 1846, and Apr. 24, 1847, are in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. While all copies seen indicate that it was published semiweekly, it may at times have appeared triweekly, as is stated in *Sketches of the Campaign in Northern Mexico in 1846 and 1847* (New York, 1853), p. 60.

defunct *Gazette,* and Gideon Lewis, an editor of the Galveston *News.* The *Herald* never materialized, but, in its stead, on June 24 the Matamoras *Reveille* appeared.[11] This paper, frequently confused with the St. Louis *Reveille,* from which it probably borrowed its title, was at first issued as a semiweekly in both Spanish and English. The Spanish section was, however, soon dropped, and a separate paper in Spanish issued from the same press by different publishers.[12] As the result of an objectionable article which appeared in the foreign paper, the office was closed in August by order of General Taylor and no trace of later issues has been found, although, after the publishers of the English *Reveille* had disclaimed all responsibility for the offensive article which sustained the claims of Mexico, permission to resume publication in English was given.[13] But the main body of the army was already being rapidly thrown forward toward Monterey; and Matamoras, while still a base for operations, was no longer a profitable location for two newspapers. After lingering there several months in hopes of the return of the army, Bangs sold his press and quit the field.[14]

By the time the *Reveille* had expired, representatives of the United States government had gained control of California; and there, in a spot far distant from the Rio Grande, the first issue of the next Anglo-Saxon newspaper appeared. On August 15, 1846, Walter Colton, the chief magistrate, who had come into possession of a Spanish press found in a mission cloister, began, with Robert Semple, the publication at Monterey of the *Californian,* whose avowed purpose was making English the language and the United States the ruler of California.[15] By using cigar wrapping paper and utilizing, until additional type could be secured from the Sandwich Islands, two *v's* for a *w,* as the Spanish alphabet boasted no such letter, these enterprising gentlemen set on foot a paper whose vigorous editorials, denouncing allegiance to Mexico and upholding the supremacy of the United States, were noteworthy. A few columns of each issue were printed, as propaganda, in Spanish. Colton withdrew from the management on April 16, 1847, and the publication in Monterey ceased with the issue of May 6. The paper was then removed to San Francisco, and there conducted, from May 22, 1847, successively by Robert Semple, B. R. Buckelew, and Robert Gor-

[11] *Daily Picayune,* June 14, 1846. Vol. I., no. 1, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[12] *Daily Picayune,* July 16, 1846.

[13] Clarksville (Texas) *Northern Standard,* Sept. 5, 1846.

[14] *Weekly Delta,* Mar. 22, 1847, quoting the Galveston *News.*

[15] A file from Aug. 15, 1846, to May 6, 1847, is in the Library of Congress.

don; then again by Buckelew until May 17, 1848, from which time until September 9, 1848, it was published by J. D. Hoppe and Company, and edited by H. L. Sheldon.[16] How far separated from the outside world California then was is shown by the fact that Taylor's report of May 17, 1846, did not appear in the Monterey paper until November 28. It was this paper, in its issue of March 15, 1847, which gave to the world the first news of the discovery of gold in California.

Before the *Californian* had removed to San Francisco, a weekly journal, the *California Star,* began publication at Yerba Buena, as the town on the site of the later city was called. The small but neat sheet first issued in January, 1847, was owned by Samuel Brannon—the Mormon leader who had been brought up by Joseph Smith—and was edited by E. P. Jones, who was no less insistent than Colton upon the rule of the United States.[17] The paper was still in existence in September, for receipt of an issue dated the 18th of that month was acknowledged by the Philadelphia *Ledger* of December 20.

The capture of Monterey, Mexico, and the armistice period which followed, brought a force of 6000 into an inland town which offered few forms of amusement and little contact with the outside world. As the lack of a newspaper was keenly felt by the troops, application was made to General Worth for permission to publish one in English, but the request was refused on the ground that it would be in violation of the wishes of the government at home. Nevertheless, pressure to that end continued to be exerted, and in February it was reported that a new paper, the *Mountain Warrior,* was shortly to appear. So far as is known, the *Warrior* never materialized, but by February 15 the *American Pioneer,* "a small sized journal", was being published by William S. Goff and J. D. Onslow.[18] Issues of this paper continued until the close of the year, for with a letter from that city, dated January 1, 1848, a few numbers "of our Monterey papers" were sent. In referring to them the writer said, "They are poor productions but you will be able to glean some news from them". The associate editor and publisher of the *Pioneer* was, until August 4, 1847, Durant Da Ponte, the son of the librettist of Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni.*[19] The other paper referred

[16] *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1911). In that library are vol. I., nos. 3–38; vol. II., 45 nos.; and vol. III., 6 nos.

[17] *Californian,* Jan. 23, 1847; *Weekly Delta,* July 26, 1847.

[18] *Weekly Delta,* Nov. 9, 1846; Mar. 8, Apr. 5, 1847. The issue of Mar. 22, 1847, is in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

[19] Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette,* Feb. 8, 1848. *Weekly Delta,* May 17, 1847.

to was the Monterey *Gazette*, which was being published as early as October 24, 1847, and as late as February 19, 1848.[20]

At Tampico, to which the main body of the army was transferred en route to Vera Cruz, the *Sentinel* was established on February 6, 1847, by J. R. Barnard and William Jewell, newspaper men from New Orleans, and edited for a time, it is said, by F. A. Lumsden, formerly one of the editors of the *Picayune*.[21] At the end of March, when the army moved south for the attack on Vera Cruz, these gentlemen sold to John G. Gibson, formerly of the New Orleans *True American*, their interest in the paper, which continued to be issued as a weekly until May 3 of the following year. On its pages were published resolutions in Spanish and in English upon the death of J. Q. Adams.[22]

Still another paper printed in English came into existence in central Mexico during 1847—the *Picket Guard*, which was owned by W. and M. Osmon and published at Saltillo. Of this there are records of issues from April 14 to July 2.[23]

With the capture of Vera Cruz, John N. Peoples of the *American Flag* and Barnard and Jewell of the Tampico *Sentinel* joined forces and began on April 2, 1847, less than a week after the United States troops entered the port, the Vera Cruz *Eagle*, a semiweekly which continued until the last day of June of that year, when it was suspended until the middle of September. Although it was promised in the last number that the paper would be continued, "materially improved, with augmented interest imparted to its editorial column", the *Eagle* failed to soar again.[24]

By April 19 the advance divisions of the army were in Jalapa and before the last of the troops had entered the town "a regular out and out American paper was established". The first number, "abounding in interesting and important intelligence", was issued on the 25th by the publishers of the Vera Cruz *Eagle*, who followed the practice of "foraging on the enemy" by taking over the press and materials of a former Jalapa paper.[25] The *American Star* continued from April 25 until May

[20] *Weekly Delta*, Nov. 29, 1847; *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 12, 1848; Philadelphia *North American*, Mar. 21, 1848.

[21] *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 18, 1847. Robert Anderson, *An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War*, p. 37.

[22] *Weekly Delta*, Mar. 29, 1847. *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 28, May 14, 1848.

[23] *Weekly Delta*, May 17, June 7 and 21, 1847; *Daily Picayune*, May 23; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 20, 1847.

[24] J. J. Oswandel, *Notes on the Mexican War*, p. 103; *Weekly Delta*, June 12, 1847. Vol. I., no. 2 (Apr. 6, 1847), of the *Eagle*, is in the Durrett Collection, University of Chicago.

[25] *Daily Picayune*, May 6, 1847.

13, on which date the publishers pushed forward to Puebla. There the first number of the second *American Star* was issued on June 12, after *y's* were filed down to *v's*, two *v's* substituted for *w's*, and the necessary army blanks supplied. It was indeed a "locomotive" concern, for it lasted only until the seventeenth number, which was dated August 7, and again took up the march.[26] While Jewell was left in Vera Cruz to look after the *Eagle*, Peoples and Barnard added to their group Callahan, the *Picayune* correspondent "C. C.", who continued to take an active part in newspaper-making during his stay in Mexico.

It was Peoples and Barnard who began on September 20, 1847, the publication of the first newspaper in English in the City of Mexico. After the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, as General Scott wanted the armistice printed, Peoples entered the city before the army, printed the articles of the convention, and smuggled them through the streets to the military headquarters in Tacubaya. The *American Star*, at first a triweekly, then a semiweekly, and after October 12 a daily, was the most important organ in Mexico for the circulation of news of the United States Army. In its issues, which continued until May 30, 1848—longer than was really profitable to its managers—appear official proclamations of the military commanders, personal items of those who played a part in the drama being enacted, news of happenings near and far, and articles addressed directly to the Mexicans.[27] Since the editor of the *Star* regarded the press as a possible means of influencing the Mexican mind, a part of each issue was published in Spanish, and in that language the viewpoint of the United States in regard to disputed issues, the justice of its policy and acts, and especially the advantages of a free press, were set forth. With the aid of these appeals, it was hoped that the press might be active in completing the work begun by the sword.[28]

But not even for eight months could such a newspaper be published without difficulties. Paper had to be secured from the factory at Puebla or at San Angel, type was available but expensive, and printers, recruited from the ranks, were constantly being shifted by army orders. So long as the government furnished work, such as the printing of forms and proclamations, the expense of issuing the paper was met; but with the ratification of the treaty of peace those contracts ceased,

[26] Oswandel, *Notes*, p. 145; Anderson, *An Artillery Officer*, p. 212; *Weekly Delta*, July 12, 1847; *American Star* (Mexico City), May 30, 1848.

[27] Complete files in the National Library of Mexico, the Library of Congress, and the British Museum.

[28] Editorial, *American Star*, Mar. 7, 1848.

and the managers were constrained to appeal to their subscribers for the $2500 to $3000 then overdue but much needed in order to meet the expenses of publication. Little of this amount was, however, ever collected.

During the period of its publication, the *American Star* was managed by Peoples and Barnard—jointly until December, 1847, by Barnard alone until February, 1848, and by Peoples alone after that time. From the first there were competitors in the field, and toward one of these, the *North American,* the *Star* had anything but a kindly feeling, and to this attitude gave rather free expression.

While the United States Army remained in Mexico, other newspapers in English were numerous. At Puebla, Governor Childs discovered a Howe press, from which the owner had issued, during the siege of the city, a large number of inflammatory handbills urging the Indians to rise up and cut the throats of the six hundred sick Yankees.[29] After being captured by Pennsylvania troops, this press was put in charge of John Kritser, a member of the Second Volunteers, one company of which was composed entirely of printers. From it there was issued a small sheet, the *Flag of Freedom,* twice a week from October 20 until December 25, 1847, and weekly thereafter until March 4, 1848.[30] In addition to the official proclamations in Spanish and English and local news, the *Flag of Freedom* offered to its readers more material of a literary character than any paper so far mentioned. On its pages appear a number of poems, some by W. F. S. [William F. Small, a Philadelphia poet] and some by J. Barnwell Haynie; dramatic notes and reviews; and articles on Mexican history and customs. The price of each issue was "half a dime".

Another paper, also the product of the Pennsylvania mind, was the *North American,* of which seventy-seven numbers, dating from September 29, 1847, to March 31, 1848, were printed in Mexico City under the supervision of William C. Toby, a correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* known to the general public as "John of York".[31] The first number received favorable comment from the *Star,* but by the time the second was off the press, Mr. Peoples's paper was referring to its rival as an unreliable "scooper" of news. Almost every issue in November contained some unpleasant reference to the *North American;* in January, the relations between the two papers were openly dis-

[29] Oswandel, *Notes,* pp. 356–357.

[30] *Daily Picayune,* June 17, 1846. A complete file is in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; the file in the British Museum lacks no. 69.

[31] File in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

cussed; by February, the *Star* suggested that the rival sheet was owned by foreigners who kept in the background to give the impression of American ownership; and Freaner, of the *Delta,* was reported later to have been offered, but to have refused, the editorship. A temporary suspension followed; when publication was resumed the sheet appeared without the name either of editor or publisher. Early in March it was reported to have come out again, "after another day's rest", in new dress, new series, and managed by a new firm. But in reality Toby was again in charge, and with him was associated Callahan, who had lately been with Peoples. The *North American,* like the *Flag of Freedom,* presented much material of a literary nature, many articles on Mexico by Toby, and dramatic news, and reviews. When patronage waned, the publication was stopped; but Toby stayed on in Mexico City until he received a commission which had been promised him.[32] On his return to Philadelphia with the Pennsylvania troops on July 25, 1848, he again joined the staff of the Philadelphia paper whose name he had borrowed for his publication in Mexico. The esteem in which he and his work were held by brethren of the craft was well voiced by George Wilkins Kendall, of the *Picayune,* when he said that "John of York" was one of the most piquant writers of the country and that the *North American* was a beautiful sheet worthy to bear the name of its Philadelphia model.[33]

Among the other ventures in Anglo-Saxon newspapers in and around Mexico City must be mentioned "a shilling weekly hebdomadal", *Yankee Doodle,* "which changed hands for a picayune" on November 18, 1847. The publisher was H. R. Courtney, who issued his paper both in Spanish and English from the office of the *North American.* At least six numbers were published; on December 11, *Yankee Doodle* was advertising in the *Star* for a wood engraver; and on the 20th a number was issued.[34] Courtney was probably ordered to move forward with the detachment of troops destined for the occupation of Toluca, for at that place on March 4 the first number of the *Outpost Guard* was published both in Spanish and English under his direction.[35] At Jalapa, during the period of withdrawal of the troops from the capital, John Shea, a New Orleans printer, published *The Watch Tower,* a "fine-looking paper, superior in appearance to most of the Yankee papers

[32] Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette,* Mar. 31, May 6, 1848.

[33] *Weekly Delta,* Nov. 8, 1847.

[34] *North American* (Mexico City), Nov. 19, Dec. 21, 1847. No. 4, dated Dec. 6, 1847, is in the New York Public Library.

[35] *American Star* (Mexico City), Mar. 5, 1848.

started among the Mexicans". The first issue of the paper is mentioned by the *Picayune* of March 12, 1848, and its publication continued at least until April 2.[36]

At Vera Cruz, the port of entry for all the troops and supplies used in the capture of the capital, four newspapers in English were published for various intervals. Of the Vera Cruz *Chronicle* only one issue, that of April 26, 1847, has been noted.[37] The *Sun of Anahuac,* published by a Cuban, R. Valdés Alfonso, continued from June 16, 1847, until August 25.[38] The reason for its demise is not clear; it may have shared the fate of some of its successors. At any rate, by September 25 a new paper by the name of the *Genius of Liberty* had made its appearance under the management of Messrs. Mathewson and Quinn. Its career was brief. After being fined $200 by the American governor of the state of Vera Cruz for certain statements in an earlier issue, Dr. Quinn printed on November 12 some "pertinent interrogatories", which so outraged the governor that he closed the office and imprisoned the offending editors. So died the *Genius of Liberty*.[39] In its place there came into existence during the same month the *Free American,* under the guidance of De Villiers, another New Orleans printer and quondam editor. For six months he managed to maintain friendly relations with the "powers that be", but he, too, finally became entangled in difficulties with the governor and was ordered on May 28, 1848, to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The *Free American* was finally suspended on June 9, 1848.[40]

Even before Vera Cruz was captured by the United States Army, troops moving westward from St. Louis had entered Santa Fe, and there on September 4, 1847, the Santa Fe *Republican* began publication.[41] The press utilized may have been the old government printing press found in the town, or it may have been the press shipped in 1846 by A. P. Ladew to Santa Fe for the use of the provisional government.[42] According to Nicolas Wochner, who wrote to the editor of the *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens* at St. Louis, the *Republican* was published in English and Spanish by Hovey and Davis, but news from the States

[36] *Daily Picayune,* Apr. 14, 1848.

[37] Houston *Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register,* May 17, 1847.

[38] *Weekly Delta,* June 28, Sept. 6, 1847.

[39] *Weekly Delta,* Oct. 11, Nov. 29, 1847.

[40] *Ibid.,* June 19, 1848.

[41] R. E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe,* p. 455, n.

[42] H. O. Ladd, *History of the War with Mexico,* p. 97; *Weekly Delta,* Nov. 23, 1846, quoting the St. Louis *Reveille.*

was scarce.[43] This paper continued in existence for many years after the war period.

Shortly after the capture of Santa Fe, Doniphan was sent into Chihuahua, where a newspaper called the *Anglo-Saxon* was published in both English and Spanish almost six months before the *Republican* came into existence. In the first number, dated March 13, 1847, Colonel Doniphan published a proclamation in Spanish requesting the people to continue at their usual occupations. This paper, about eight by twelve inches in size, was printed on a press which had been taken to Chihuahua some twenty years earlier for the publication of government decrees. The editor of the *Anglo-Saxon* was Lieutenant Charles Kribben, a St. Louis newspaper man, and the publisher was John S. Webb. As in California, "the fonts of type were as barren of *w's* as a cockney's pronunciation, and the publisher was forced into the double cockneyism of using two *v's* as a substitute". Only a few numbers of the *Anglo-Saxon* appeared, for Doniphan's men were ordered forward to join General Taylor's force in the interior.[44]

With the withdrawal of the United States troops from Mexican territory, the presses which had been employed in the publication of the various papers in English were returned to their owners. But the spirit of adventure awakened in the hearts of many of the journalists who promoted the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico during the war was too strong; they were unwilling to return to their former homes and duties. Instead, new presses were ordered westward, and new papers sprang up in various towns of the Southwest. In Texas alone the number increased from fourteen weekly and two semiweekly publications in February, 1846, to more than thirty by September, 1849, and some of these were the direct outgrowth of papers published in Mexico during the war. The *American Star* of Mexico City was reëstablished by its editor, Peoples, at Corpus Christi in 1848. When the gold fever seized him, as it did many editors in the Southwest, he sold the paper to his partner, Callahan, who in turn transferred it to Barnard. Under the name of the *Nueces Valley,* it continued publication from 1850 until the Civil War period. The *American Flag,* published in Matamoras by Fleeson and Palmer during the war, removed at its conclusion to Brownsville, where it continued, with E. B. Scarborough as editor, for more than a decade. Hugh McLeod, the first editor of the *Republic*

[43] *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens,* Nov. 18, 1847. The letter was dated Santa Fe, Sept. 23, 1847.

[44] *Daily Picayune,* May 11, 1847; *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens,* May 17, 1847. The issue of Mar. 26, 1847, is mentioned in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* July 1, 1847.

of the Rio Grande, became one of the owners of the San Antonio *Ledger,* which was published long after the Civil War. The *State Gazette,* established at Austin in 1849, was edited by the former chief of the *Genius of Liberty* at Vera Cruz, R. C. Mathewson, who later started the *Public Balance* at San Francisco. The *Free American* of Vera Cruz was transformed into the *Texas Ranger,* which began publication late in 1848 at Point Isabel. In New Mexico, the *Republican* continued until Civil War days when its title was changed to the *New Mexican,* which continued for many years to be the leading publication in the territory. Many of the other papers established in the Southwest during the next decade were edited by men who had been attracted to the region through their military experience. Others, such as George Wilkins Kendall, returned to the Southwest to make their permanent homes.

Clearly, the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico served several definite purposes. During the war, it was a means of satisfying the craving for news both among the men at the front and the public at home; it furnished to soldiers and civilians, both English and Spanish speaking, the orders of the military commanders; and through the editorials, in both languages, it afforded a possible means of influencing the public, and especially the Mexican, mind. While the career of many of the sheets was transient, all fulfilled to some extent one or more of these purposes; several became journals of permanent usefulness. At the close of the war, it was the men who had promoted the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico who introduced into the Southwest many of the best traditions of the journalistic craft, and by their efforts and influence helped, through succeeding years, to mold the thought and direct the energy of the eager pioneers who came to seek in those regions health, homes, and happiness. To that extent the story of the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico may be said to be but a page in the yet unwritten history of the press in the Southwest.

Lota M. Spell.

Austin, Texas.

GERRIT SMITH AND THE JOHN BROWN RAID

For a period of more than forty years prior to his death in 1874, Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, was one of the most conspicuous and best known men in the United States, in every sense of the word a national figure. Inheriting abundant means, as fortunes went in his day, he devoted his talents, financial and intellectual, to the causes of philanthropy and reform. His generosity was gratefully acknowledged by colleges as far apart as Middlebury and Oberlin, and by several others in between; as a dispenser of private charity he made his name a household word; as an Abolitionist he was just as prominent as his good friend William Lloyd Garrison; he spoke oracularly and wrote often and at length on almost every subject of popular interest, particularly on peace, slavery, temperance, religion, and politics. If in discussing these matters he revealed a tendency toward dogmatism and an uncritical acceptance of certain premises, he at least possessed the flawless logic of the true dialectician. He was withal a warm-hearted, genial gentleman of high moral character, admired by his acquaintances, loved by his friends and his family. That this man should have been partner in a criminal enterprise with an irresponsible zealot like John Brown is one of the peculiarities of a strange period in American history.

John Brown's seizure of the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry was the extraordinary act of a fanatic, if not of a psychopathic crank, but the help given to him by his financial and moral backers of the North, who were supposedly sane, was more extraordinary still. In general, the part played by Brown's accomplices has been described before, particularly in the writings of Sanborn and Villard.[1] There are, however, various matters in connection with the background of the raid, with Smith's insanity following it, and with his subsequent denials of complicity concerning which it is possible to give additional information of considerable significance.[2]

The origin of Gerrit Smith's connection with the raid at Harper's Ferry must be sought in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and in the

[1] F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, vol. I.; Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800–1859: a Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston, 1910).

[2] Some of this material is in the collection of Smith manuscripts presented to the library of Syracuse University by Mr. Gerrit Smith Miller of Peterboro, New York, grandson of Gerrit Smith.

subsequent disorders and civil war in Kansas Territory; or, to put it more accurately, in the impressions made by these episodes on the already highly sensitized minds of the Abolitionists. The violence in Kansas, looked upon by the anti-slavery group as another inevitable manifestation of the criminal intentions of the "slave power", filled Northern philanthropists and reformers with intense and bitter wrath. As they saw it the illegal and violent acts of the pro-slavery party not only justified, but demanded, violence in return. So it happened that during the period of hostilities in Kansas, men of the best character gave moral and financial aid to free-soil warriors operating beyond the Missouri border. After this sort of work it was comparatively easy for them not only to condone, but to approve almost any scheme for setting slaves free, no matter how illegal.

The process of "saving Kansas" involved the raising of substantial sums of money, something which could be most easily effected through organizations especially created for the purpose. Smith's active connection with this particular line of work began at Albany. At the call of the local "Kansas Aid Committee", which had been organized on February 18, 1856, a convention met at Albany on March 13, "to concert such measures as may be deemed expedient for the protection of the citizens of Kansas from the ruffian incursions of the Missouri Borderers".[3] On this occasion, at the request of the chairman of the Albany committee, Smith made a speech which attracted considerable attention. On March 18 there was a large Madison County Kansas meeting at Peterboro.[4] By April 3, 1856, there was a Madison County Kansas Committee, actively at work in enrolling and equipping emigrants for Kansas.[5]

Smith threw himself into this work with unusual enthusiasm, doing all he could for Kansas, as he wrote his friend Charles Sumner. "I am making speeches for Kansas, and I continue to give money for her—all the money I can."[6] The demands upon him on this account were so great that when he was asked to help defray the expenses of the celebrated Auguste Comte's visit to Albany, he replied: "I haven't a spare dollar. I am using all the money I can lay hold of to send good families to Kansas, and help secure that Territory to Freedom."[7] More specifically, at Albany, according to report, Smith gave $3000 to the Kansas

[3] Printed circular of the committee, dated Feb. 29, 1856, copy in Smith MSS.

[4] Smith to Sumner, Mar. 20, 1856, original in Smith MSS.

[5] Memorandum, Smith's hand, June 19, 1856, Smith MSS.

[6] Smith to Sumner, Mar. 20, 1856, Smith MSS.

[7] Smith to R. B. Miller, Apr. 10, 1856, copy in Smith's hand, Smith MSS.

cause, and in addition he promised to defray the expenses of a hundred emigrants to Kansas from Madison County. To the Madison County Kansas Committee itself he gave $1000.[8] On May 31, 1856, on the occasion of a Kansas Aid meeting in Syracuse, he pledged $10,000 more to the same cause. And in December of the same year, in a letter to his friend Samuel J. May, the Syracuse Abolitionist, he said: "My efforts to save Kansas to Freedom have exhausted my current means. . . ."[9]

Smith's own correspondence and that of others show that he was widely recognized as one of the outstanding leaders in the effort to send free state men to Kansas. Furthermore, he did not blind himself to the necessities of the situation. Although he was a leader in the peace movement of his time, and for years vice president of the American Peace Society, he was entirely ready to sanction violence in behalf of the free-soil campaign. When he heard rumors of an impending attack by Missouri desperadoes on the town of Lawrence, Kansas, he sent Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, for whom the town was named, $250 for the cause (January 25, 1856). Four days later Lawrence acknowledged the contribution with the following comment: "I have thought that the money spent in rifles has done the most good thus far, and may appropriate yrs in that way, unless you object." Smith replied with an authorization to use the money as Lawrence thought best. "Much as I abhor war", he wrote, "I nevertheless believe, that there are instances in which the shedding of blood is unavoidable."[10] Smith expressed similar sentiments in a letter to the Syracuse Kansas Convention, referred to above. He was willing, he wrote, to go with the convention "in putting slavery to a violent death". He hoped the convention would organize the state, raise a million dollars, and enlist a thousand men. "I could not have encouraged others to fight, had not slavery invaded the free State of Kansas. . . . Hitherto I have opposed the bloody abolition of slavery. But now, when it begins to march its conquering bands into the Free States, I and ten thousand other peace men are not only ready to have it repulsed with violence, but pursued even unto death, with violence."[11] These sentiments were not the products

[8] Bradburn to Smith, Mar. 30, 1856, Smith MSS. Memorandum, Smith's hand, June 19, 1856, Smith MSS.

[9] G. Smith, letter to the Kansas Convention in Syracuse, printed in Syracuse *Journal*, May 31, 1856, quoted in Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith: a Biography* (New York, 1878), pp. 232–233. Smith to May, Dec. 22, 1856, Smith MSS.

[10] Smith's two letters are in the Lawrence Letters, vol. XIII., nos. 151 and 162, in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Lawrence's letter to Smith is in the Smith MSS.

[11] Quoted in Frothingham, pp. 232–233.

of any mere temporary excitement, but the results of leisurely reflection on Smith's part, views which he continued to hold, at least for the next few years. On May 24, 1858, he delivered the address at the thirtieth anniversary meeting of the American Peace Society, in Boston. On this occasion he referred to the necessity of setting up a new government in Kansas, when the regular one failed in its obligations. "I add that the irregular but righteous government which such an emergency calls into being is worthy to be sustained by good men the earth over—by their prayers, their contributions of food, clothing, money, and, if need be, of 'Sharp's rifles' also."[12] If these views were somewhat out of harmony with the avowed purpose of the meeting, they at least show where Smith stood on the subject of war against slavery.

In this armed conflict neither Smith nor his fellow Abolitionists found the Missourians the only enemies to be defeated. They came to look upon Federal officials and even Federal troops in the territory as legitimate objects of armed attack. On November 1, 1856, after returning from a visit to Kansas, the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, then of Worcester, wrote to Smith that both in and out of Kansas men were better prepared for revolution than they had been a short time ago. In Kansas particularly, he wrote, he observed an absence of "that spirit of blind, superstitious loyalty to the U. S. government which I feared to find. On the contrary, *the people of Kansas are just as ready to fight* the U. S. government as the Missourians, so far as feeling is concerned. Only as a matter of policy they do not wish to do it, except at a favorable crisis."[13]

On the basis of these observations Higginson proposed the following Kansas policy, for general adoption: (1) He would have the governors of the free states join in a formal protest against the course of the United States officials in Kansas. (2) These governors should issue a call for volunteers, in case of another invasion of Kansas by Missourians, or in case of another interference by the United States officials with the rights of the free-soil settlers in Kansas. (3) The free state legislatures should appropriate funds for the protection of their citizens in Kansas, such funds to be spent at the discretion of the respective state governors. (4) Private companies of volunteers should be organized, and kept ready to respond to any call of the governors. On the following Wednesday, he continued, there would be an important meeting on Kansas, at the Marlboro Hotel, for the discussion of this proposed program. Smith was earnestly urged to attend.

[12] G. Smith, *Peace better than War*, p. 13.

[13] Higginson to Smith, Nov. 1, 1856, Smith MSS.

Smith seems to have been included in this invitation because of his known readiness to encourage violence against Federal officials in Kansas. In his speech at the Albany meeting, of March 13, 1856, referred to above, which received wide publicity at the time, he had declared that the Kansans must not submit to the territorial government, even though the Federal authorities should insist upon such submission. "They must resist it, even if in doing so, they have to resist both Congress and President. And we must stand by them in their resistance." [14]

In Vermont Higginson's proposal was in part adopted. On November 4, 1856, Governor Ryland Fletcher wrote to Gerrit Smith that the legislature had under consideration a bill appropriating $20,000 for the relief of emigrants from Vermont in Kansas. The governor was inclined to doubt the propriety of the measure, on the ground that it was outside the proper field of state action, and that it might provoke counter legislation in the South. He would regret, he wrote, to see his state take a course from which she might be compelled to recede, perhaps not honorably. He did not wish to err, however, in such an important crisis, and he asked for advice. "If you would give me your opinion upon this subject at your *earliest* convenience, you would confer a great favor on your friend and humble servant." [15]

Smith replied to this unusual communication with advice more unusual still. "The great mass of good and wise men will rejoice to see your Legislature vote the $20,000." The people of Kansas should be protected by the Federal government, he continued, but the Federal government has not only failed to give protection, but it "openly tramples upon the Constitution by openly allying itself to the Missouri invaders and oppressors of Kansas". Smith declared that "the Governments of the Free States are bound to afford protection to the people of Kansas". "It is not to be disguised that we are in a state of revolution. The Missouri Ruffians (so far as overt acts are concerned) began the revolution: and the Federal Government, instead of suppressing it, has joined these Ruffians." Smith believed, he wrote, that Vermont could, by setting a prompt example, save Kansas and the whole country. "This salvation might cost some blood and the downfall of all American Slavery. But it would be a salvation worth all its cost." Vermont could assist in this salvation by sending to Kansas an army of perhaps five hundred of her "brave sons". Other Northern state governments

[14] Quoted in Frothingham, p. 232.

[15] Fletcher to Smith, Montpelier, Vt., Nov. 4, 1856, Smith MSS.

would be quick to follow the example. "I thank you for the honor you have done me in asking my opinion. I have said enough to indicate my belief, that nothing short of the presence of an army of freedom in Kansas can save Kansas and the Nation. The Federal Government will not supply that army. The State Governments must." [16]

The Vermont legislature appropriated the money, and by so doing "occasioned painful anxiety" to Governor Fletcher, as that executive confided to Amos A. Lawrence.[17] Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe—another one of John Brown's intimates—was selected to work on the Massachusetts legislature, in the hope of securing funds in connection with Higginson's plan. He hoped for an appropriation of $100,000, or $200,000, he wrote, to be used in case of invasion or other calamity in Kansas.[18]

But the free states did not respond as Higginson had hoped, and by November 22, 1856, he was at work on another project for saving Kansas. He intended, he wrote to Gerrit Smith, "to start a *private* organization of picked men, who shall be ready to go to Kansas in case of need, to aid the people against *any* opponent, state or federal". He did not contemplate a large organization, but he did wish "to involve *every* state in the war that is to be". He hoped to get about a hundred men from Massachusetts, and fifty each in the other New England states, and to have them drilled and organized. Once started, this army could be increased by accessions from other states. "The scheme is approved by all the best men, but nobody seems disposed to lead in it unless I do." Higginson then urged Smith to help in making the enterprise a success.[19]

Smith's reply to this letter, if he did reply, has not been found. But there is no doubt that he continued to approve of treason in this particular cause. In a letter to Thaddeus Hyatt, July 25, 1857, in connection with affairs in Kansas, he wrote: "We must not shrink from fighting for Liberty—& if Federal troops fight against her, we must fight against them." [20]

In addition to advocating armed attack upon Federal authorities in Kansas, Higginson made a vigorous effort to promote the Garrison project of dissolution of the Union, in order to separate the free states

[16] Smith to Fletcher, Nov. 8, 1856, copy, Smith MSS.

[17] Fletcher to Lawrence, June 11, 1857, Lawrence Letters, vol. XV., no. 165.

[18] Howe to Lawrence, Dec. 22, 1856, and Jan. 8, 1857, Lawrence letters, vol. XIV., no. 216; vol. XV., no. 23.

[19] Higginson to Smith, Nov. 22, 1856, Smith MSS.

[20] Quoted in Villard, p. 287.

from the slave. In this letter of November 22, 1856, referred to above, he earnestly begged Smith to come to a "disunion convention" in Worcester, to be held sometime in the next two months. Smith did not attend this gathering, but he was by no means shocked at Higginson's proposal. Writing to his friend May, he expressed the hope that Garrison and Phillips would be invited to attend the approaching anti-slavery convention in Syracuse. "I very much wish to hear the plans of such men . . . and to hear their plans defended by themselves. I am not yet a disunionist—but perhaps they will make me one. I have none of that wretched stuff in me called 'Patriotism'—and hence I have no *patriotic* horror of disunion." May was not a disunionist either, but, as he wrote Higginson, he was glad to hear arguments on the disunion side. "There is an idolatry of the Union which ought to be rebuked and ridiculed. The worthlessness of the Union to all who love liberty and hate oppression ought to be shown up." [21]

Gerrit Smith, then, was not only not opposed to the use of armed force, but he expressly and emphatically urged war in Kansas, and that, too, against the Federal government itself. To be sure the more intimate, incipiently rebellious, correspondence just quoted of Lawrence, Fletcher, May, Higginson, and Smith was not made public. This has marked historical value, in showing precisely how these bellicose reformers sought to resolve their purposes into concrete, detailed plans of action. But, important as these details are, they were not essential to a public understanding of Smith's doctrines. His general principles were not confined to secret correspondence with a few congenial friends, but, at least in the Albany and Syracuse meetings, proclaimed openly, to all who would listen or read. It may be argued that all this was nothing more than mere philosophic radicalism, something abstract and academic, because, in spite of the belligerency of his words, Smith did not actually participate in any fighting. This objection might hold good, if it were not for the private letters quoted above, and for Smith's own heavy expenditures in the cause. By the end of 1857, therefore, when John Brown began to plan definitely for his project of freeing slaves in Virginia, Gerrit Smith had already demonstrated his readiness to underwrite violence, if directed against slavery, treasonable violence too, if it seemed necessary. On the strength of known facts, any Abolitionist whose work seemed likely to promote the cause of freedom had every right to expect from Smith not only a cordial wel-

[21] Smith to May, Jan. 24, 1857, Smith MSS. May to Higginson, Mar. 16, 1857, Higginson Papers, box 4, no. 589, Widener Library, Harvard University.

come and a sympathetic hearing, but moral and financial support as well. It was therefore no unfounded hope which at that time turned John Brown in the direction of Gerrit Smith's Peterboro home.

There he arrived, February 18, 1858, and spent a week.[22] Before his arrival he had already divulged to a few intimate friends in the West his plan for "an incursion into Virginia", which he confidently expected to undertake in the spring.[23] He had also carried on an active correspondence with the men who subsequently became his financial backers: Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Dr. Samuel G. Howe and George L. Stearns of Boston, and Gerrit Smith.[24] Although in these letters he did not reveal any details of his project, he wrote enough to give Sanborn at least the impression that he was planning an uprising of slaves. Brown had planned this visit to Smith's home in order to secure financial support; to this end he had asked the New England friends named above to meet him there. The proposed gathering, it should be observed, was no casual, informal affair, as Smith subsequently described it, but something very much out of the ordinary and something carefully planned in advance. Although Sanborn alone came, the coöperation of the others were secured later.

In the genial, hospitable atmosphere of Smith's home Brown became more communicative as to his purpose. Apparently he said enough to convince Gerrit Smith of the wisdom of the project, because on February 20, 1858, Brown wrote to his son, John, that their good friends, Gerrit Smith and his wife, "I am most happy to tell you, are ready to go in for a share in the whole trade. I will say (in the language of an-

[22] Diary of Gerrit Smith, quoted in Frothingham, p. 237. Smith's acquaintance with John Brown—whom he characterized as "the Great & Good!"—had begun in 1848; subsequently he knew something of Brown's career in Kansas, and contributed money to his work. In 1857 Brown was trying to buy a farm, for the support of his family, and he asked Amos A. Lawrence of Boston for help. Lawrence was not able to advance the thousand dollars needed at the time, but he learned that the farm which Brown wanted, at North Elba, New York, belonged to Gerrit Smith. Lawrence offered to pay Smith $600 toward the farm, and he proposed that Smith take a mortgage of Brown for the remainder. (Lawrence to Smith, Apr. 30, 1857, Smith MSS.) In the Smith papers is a note for $100, written in Smith's hand, and signed by John Brown, dated May 15, 1857. This note may have been a part of this transaction.

[23] 36 congress, 1st sess., Reports of Committees, no. 278, p. 92. Cited hereafter as Mason Report. Testimony of Richard Realf.

[24] Brown kept a record of this correspondence in his Diary, vol. II. See especially the entries for June 9, 11, 16, 21, 1857; Aug. 13, 14, 27, 1857; Feb. 10, 12, 17, 1858. Some of this correspondence may be found in the Higginson Letters relating to John Brown, in the Boston Public Library, cited hereafter as Higginson Letters. See especially Brown to Higginson, Feb. 2, 12, 1858; Sanborn to Higginson, Feb. 11, 1858; Higginson to Brown, Feb. 8, 1858. The Diary is in the Boston Public Library.

other) in regard to this most encouraging fact, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord'. I seem to be almost marvelously helped; and to His name be praise!" [25]

On the evening of the 22nd, after Sanborn's arrival, Smith, Brown, Sanborn, and Edwin Morton, a classmate of Sanborn, then acting as tutor to Smith's son, talked over the whole plan. According to Sanborn's *Recollections,* which were compiled largely from documentary evidence, and which are surprisingly accurate at most points where corroborative evidence is available, Brown explained what he intended to do and also read to them the constitution for his proposed commonwealth, which he had previously prepared at Rochester. On the following day the discussion was resumed, and Smith and Sanborn talked over plans for raising money for the enterprise. Then, on February 24, 1858, Brown wrote enthusiastically to his wife and family: "Mr. Smith & family go *all* lengths with me." [26] A few weeks after this meeting, and obviously as a result of it, Sanborn wrote to Higginson with reference to the details of raising money: "Mr. Stearns is Treasurer of the enterprise for N. E." And, he added, "The enterprise still looks very hopeful to speculative people".[27]

In some respects this Peterboro conference was the climax of Brown's preparatory work. Here Brown disclosed his plans for setting slaves free, somewhere, and there is no reason for thinking that he failed to mention Virginia as his field of action, although the precise point of attack had probably not been determined. In view of the frankness with which Smith had already written about fighting the United States in Kansas, it would be absurd to assume that there was any reticence over place, purpose, or methods. Brown had not come to Peterboro to discuss abstract philosophical propositions. He wanted action, and money to make action possible. And there could be no doubt that action meant fighting. Even a casual reading of the constitution which he framed at Rochester would show this.[28] Therefore, when Gerrit Smith gave his assurance, with no qualifications or reservations, that he endorsed the project to the full, he did so with a reasonably clear notion of Brown's purpose.

[25] Brown to John Brown, jr., Feb. 20, 1858, quoted in Sanborn, I. 144.

[26] Sanborn, I. 144–145; Villard, pp. 320, 321.

[27] Sanborn to Higginson, Mar. 21, 1858, Higginson Letters. After the Peterboro meeting, Brown went to Boston for personal conferences with Stearns, Theodore Parker, and Howe, all of whom were interested in his plans, although they had not been present at Peterboro.

[28] This constitution is printed in full in Mason Report, pp. 48–59.

The significance of Smith's approval can hardly be overestimated. His backing carried substantial weight, giving, as it did, not only the guarantee of financial support, but moral standing as well. Under the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that Brown's laconic reports to his son and his family should have revealed his elation, and that he should have given thanks to the bloody-minded deity from whom he derived sanction for his work.

As the foregoing account shows, Brown had expected to begin operations some time in the spring of 1858. The postponement to October, 1859, was due to the defection of one of Brown's own band, Colonel Hugh Forbes, the military drillmaster. Highly eccentric, if not insane himself, he turned bitterly against Brown, and proceeded to reveal all he knew of the plans to some prominent members of Congress. These disclosures were gravely disquieting. Sanborn immediately declared that the enterprise must be postponed. Forbes knew "what very few do—that the Dr. [Howe] and myself are informed of it—How he got *this* knowledge is a mystery".[29]

Gerrit Smith was even more disturbed. Writing to Sanborn of his brother's death, which had just occurred in Springfield, Massachusetts, he said: "This bereavement troubles my spirit scarcely as much as does your letter. Is it possible that Colo. F is to prove himself such a traitor?" Smith also referred to a letter just received from Brown. Continuing, he wrote: "It seems to me that in these circumstances he must go no further—and so I write him. I never was convinced of the wisdom of his scheme. But as things now stand it seems to me it would be madness to attempt to execute it. Colo. F would make such an attempt a certain and most disastrous failure. I write Brown *this evening.*"[30]

To Higginson, who had far more boldness than his partners in Brown's affairs, and who argued vigorously for continuing the enterprise, Sanborn wrote two letters, insisting on postponement, and fortifying his arguments by citing the opinions of Smith and Stearns, who agreed with him. The decisions of these men, "who are such large stockholders", he said, must prevail, especially the opinion of Gerrit Smith, "who *does* count".[31]

It so happened that Smith had to be in Boston on May 24, 1858, to

[29] Mason Report, pp. 100–101; Sanborn to Higginson, May 5, 1858, Higginson Letters.

[30] Smith to Sanborn, May 7, 1858, Higginson Letters.

[31] Sanborn to Higginson, May 11, 18, 1858; Higginson to Theodore Parker, May 18, 1858, Higginson Letters.

deliver the address referred to above at the thirtieth anniversary of the American Peace Society. This furnished an opportunity for a meeting of what Sanborn described as "the secret committee of six", namely, Howe, Parker, Smith, Stearns, Higginson, and Sanborn. This took place in Gerrit Smith's room in the Revere House. Here the conspirators ratified the decision which Sanborn, Smith, and Stearns had already reached, namely, that Brown must wait until the danger from Forbes's disclosures had passed. They also agreed to raise $2000 more, for Brown's use the following year. In the meantime, Brown was to return to Kansas, in order to cast doubt on the reliability of the Forbes story. The property in Brown's hands was to be transferred so as to relieve his backers of responsibility, and in the future they were not to know his plans. These decisions were put in a letter to Brown, which he showed to Higginson, when they met in Boston on June 1, 1858. Higginson embodied the essential parts of this letter, and some of Brown's comments, in a memorandum.[32]

This simple device under which Brown's sponsors sought to shield themselves from future trouble impressed Brown very much as it impresses most people who read it to-day. These men who urged delay, he told Higginson, *"were not men of action"*. "G S he knew to be a timid man." But, so the prudent old warrior confided to Higginson, he did not make any such remarks in the presence of the men themselves, and he did not wish Higginson to tell them what he had said. They had the money, and without their help he would be powerless.[33]

In a letter to Sanborn, July 26, 1858, Smith himself corroborated a part of the Higginson memorandum. "I have great faith in the wisdom, integrity, and bravery of Captain Brown. For several years I have frequently given him money toward sustaining him in his contests with the slave-power. Whenever he shall embark in another of these contests I shall again stand ready to help him; and I will begin with giving him a hundred dollars. I do not wish to know Captain Brown's plans; I hope he will keep them to himself."[34]

Brown went back to Kansas and distinguished himself once more, this time by running off a number of slaves from Missouri. But at the end of the winter, he was again at work on the project which actually culminated at Harper's Ferry. On March 4, 1859, Sanborn wrote

[32] Sanborn, I. 155. Higginson was not present at the meeting on May 24 even though Sanborn had sent him an urgent telegram to attend, Higginson Letters. Memorandum of June 1, 1858, Higginson Letters.

[33] Memorandum of June 1.

[34] Sanborn, I. 160–161, quoting letter, Smith to Sanborn, July 26, 1858.

Higginson that Brown was then renewing his preparations and was coming East for that purpose. "Mr. Smith proposes to raise $1,000 for him, and to contribute $100 himself."[35] From April 11 to April 14, 1859, Brown was once more at Gerrit Smith's Peterboro home. Edwin Morton was fortunately moved to write a vivid account of one meeting there, on the afternoon of April 13, 1859. "You must hear of Brown's meeting this afternoon—few in number, but the most interesting I perhaps ever saw. Mr. Smith spoke well; G. W. Putnam read a spirited poem; and Brown was exceedingly interesting, and once or twice so eloquent that Mr. Smith and some others wept. . . . A paper was handed about, with the name of Mr. Smith for four hundred dollars, to which others were added. Mr. Smith, in the most eloquent speech I ever heard from him, said: 'If I were asked to point out—I will say it in his presence—to point out the man in all this world I think most truly a Christian, I would point to John Brown.' I was once doubtful in my own mind as to Captain Brown's course. I now approve it heartily, having given my mind to it more of late."[36]

Late in May, and again on June 4, 1859, Smith wrote to Brown, in response to urgent appeals for funds. This latter letter was subsequently found with Brown's effects at his headquarters near Harper's Ferry. "I have done what I could thus far for Kansas, and what I could to keep you at your Kansas work. Losses by indorsement and otherwise have brought me under heavy embarrassment the last two years, but I must, nevertheless, continue to do, in order to keep you at your Kansas work. I send you herewith my draft for two hundred dollars. Let me hear from you on the receipt of this letter. You live in our hearts, and our prayer to God is that you may have strength to continue in your Kansas work. My wife joins me in affectionate regard to you, dear John, whom we both hold in very high esteem."[37] Whether Smith knew of the actual place selected by Brown for his attack on the slave power at this time is not clear, nor does it greatly matter. In August John Brown, jr., traveling as John Smith, visited Rochester, Syracuse, and Boston. At Rochester he saw Edwin Morton. Morton wished for a copy of one of his letters, "to show our friend at 'Pr.,' who, Mr. M. says, *has his whole soul absorbed in this matter*".[38]

[35] Sanborn to Higginson, Mar. 4, 1859, Higginson Letters.

[36] Morton to Sanborn, Apr. 13, 1859, quoted in Sanborn, I. 161–162.

[37] Brown, Diary, II., May 16, 21, 1859. Smith to Brown, June 4, 1859, quoted in Sanborn, I. 165–166.

[38] Mason Report, pp. 68–69, quoting letter of John Smith (John Brown, jr.) to J. Henrie (J. H. Kagi), Aug. 11, 1859.

In this same connection there is part of a letter published in Dr. Howe's *Letters and Journals,* undated, but written about May 15, 1859, which intimates strongly that Howe knew of Brown's plans. "If you would like to hear an honest, keen, and veteran backwoodsman disclose some plans for delivering our land from the curse of slavery, the bearer will do so. . . ." He will ask, so Howe continued, nothing but a pledge to keep secret what he may say.[39] This was written in a letter introducing Brown to John M. Forbes. It shows at least that Brown was prepared to talk about his plans, even at that late date, only a few months before the raid itself, and it implies that Dr. Howe was well informed.

One more letter, found with Brown's papers at Harper's Ferry, shows that his supporters were still in correspondence with him and with each other as late as August 30, 1859. This was unsigned, but Brown had endorsed on it the initials of the writer, "F. B. S.", in other words, Frank B. Sanborn. Sanborn sent him $50, said that Dr. Howe had already sent $50; "and G. S. of P., writes me he has sent, or will send, one hundred dollars. . . . I have sent your letter to G. S."[40]

The evidence thus far given with reference to Smith's connection with the John Brown raid proves: that Brown had had in mind an attack upon slavery since 1857; that in 1858 his plans, so far as they had then matured, were revealed to Gerrit Smith and to others; that there were three important meetings, planned in advance, of some of Brown's associates, two at Smith's home in Peterboro, and one in Smith's room at the Revere House in Boston; that from 1857 to the late summer of 1859 there was an appreciable amount of correspondence between Brown and his sponsors; in other words, the preparations for this spectacular attack upon slavery were not confined to offhand, informal discussions, but were carefully prepared and protracted over two years. If any member of the so-called "secret committee", Gerrit Smith for example, did not know all that Brown had in mind, it was solely because of the dictates of strategy. But, it may be observed, when a man backs a criminal enterprise, his purposeful ignorance does not free him from responsibility in the premises. If the Virginia courts were right in pronouncing Brown a murderer and a traitor, Gerrit Smith was a criminal accomplice, or, as the newspapers said at the time of the raid, an accessory before the fact.

From the nature of the situation none of the men associated with Brown during these years from 1857 to 1859 would have been so utterly

[39] Howe, *Letters and Journals,* II. 436.

[40] Mason Report, p. 68.

rash as to proclaim his intentions to the country at large. But on August 27, 1859, Smith did write and publish a most extraordinary document, in reply to an invitation from the "Jerry Rescue" anniversary committee, the significance of which was not so apparent before as after the affair at Harper's Ferry. In the course of this letter he had much to say about the probability of violent uprisings against slavery, a prophecy which seems to have been not unrelated to his knowledge of what John Brown was then on the very point of attempting in Virginia.[41]

In this letter Smith referred to views which he had expressed, on previous occasions, that it was too late to bring slavery to an end by peaceful means.

> No wonder then is it that in this state of facts which I have sketched, intelligent black men in the States and Canada should see no hope for their race in the practice and policy of white men. No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections. For insurrections then we may look any year, any month, any day. A terrible remedy for a terrible wrong! But come it must unless anticipated by repentance and the putting away of the terrible wrong.
>
> It will be said that these insurrections will be failures—that they will be put down. Yes, but will not slavery nevertheless be put down by them? For what portions are there of the South that will cling to slavery after two or three considerable insurrections shall have filled the whole South with horror? And is it entirely certain that these insurrections will be put down promptly, and before they can be spread far? Will telegraphs and railroads be too swift for even the swiftest insurrections? Remember that telegraphs and railroads can be rendered useless in an hour. Remember too that many, who would be glad to face the insurgents, would be busy in transporting their wives and daughters to places where they would be safe from that worst fate which husbands and fathers can imagine for their wives and daughters. I admit that but for this embarrassment Southern men would laugh at the idea of an insurrection, and would quickly dispose of one. But trembling as they would for their beloved ones, I know of no part of the world where, so much as in the South, men would be like, in a formidable insurrection, to lose the most important time, and be distracted and panic-stricken.

These remarks might perhaps be a key to some of Smith's unreported conversations with John Brown.

John Brown began his attack on the night of October 16, 1859. During the day of the 17th there was fighting between Brown's men, who had been driven into the engine house at the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Virginia militia forces. On the 18th Brown was cap-

[41] Printed copy in Smith MSS.

tured. He was placed on trial at Charles Town, Virginia, October 25, in a state court; declared guilty on October 31; sentenced to death on November 2; and executed December 2.

The first reports of the raid were published in the newspapers of October 18, 1859. In the New York *Herald* there was an editorial, in which the writer quoted extracts from the above letter, and asked: "Is this the first act in that programme?—and are those white abolitionists spoken of in our despatches emissaries of the peaceful Gerrit?" Two days later the *Herald* news columns declared that Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, and Frederick Douglass were implicated in the raid, and that Smith had supplied "the sinews of war". In this issue the *Herald* printed Smith's Jerry Rescue letter and Brown's constitution in full, in close juxtaposition, and reported the discovery of Smith's letter of June 4 to Brown. The letter itself was printed the next day.[42] On October 21, the *Herald* declared editorially that enough evidence had already been discovered to warrant a demand by Governor Wise of Virginia for the delivery of Smith and Douglass for trial, "as accessories before the fact". This statement was repeated on October 24 and on the 26th the papers printed a report from Richmond that Smith's extradition would be sought.

After the raid some of Brown's financial backers prudently sought refuge in Canada or in England. Sanborn destroyed most of the letters in his possession bearing upon the raid. Then he urged upon Higginson the necessity of secrecy concerning the relations of Brown and his associates. "I do not think the time has yet come for declaring the whole truth about Brown; better the numbers, the names and the plans of his accomplices should be unknown, for then they can work in the same way hereafter, if they choose. I dont see why it is any worse to conceal the facts *now* than before the outbreak. . . . What has been prudence is prudence still. . . ." In another letter to Higginson, Sanborn said it was unwise for any of those who knew anything of consequence about Brown's work to go before the Senate committee appointed to investigate the raid. "I hope you will burn all my letters about these things." And in a third letter, written from Montreal where he had gone, as he said to avoid trouble, he wrote: ". . . and I regard the *keeping back of evidence,* as too important to run any risks about. I am more and more convinced of this. If you and Dr. Howe and one or two others stay away [from the Senate committee], no new light can be thrown on the matter. . . . The few who really engineered

[42] New York *Herald,* Oct. 18, 20, 21, 1859.

this matter—those still living, have no particular public function at present; silence is their prudence. . . ." [43]

These remarks by Sanborn furnish a fairly complete index to the extent of the conspirators' prior knowledge of Brown's plans. So too do Higginson's replies. Higginson, however, unlike the others showed no sign of cowardice. When Dr. Howe published a statement asserting complete ignorance of Brown's intentions, Higginson was moved to wrath over such a palpable lie. It would be, he declared, "the extreme of baseness in us to *deny* complicity with Capt. Brown's general scheme—while we were not, of course, called upon to say anything to *criminate* ourselves". This much he actually sent to Howe. He also wrote a long letter, which he did not send, expressing his feelings more freely. Howe's published statement he said, was a very clever thing, seeming to deny complicity. "Since language was first invented 'to conceal thought' there has been no more skilful combination of words. But the universal interpretation of all intelligent readers, not previously enlightened, *must* be—that you disclaim all knowledge not merely of the precise time and place and opening of John Brown's great drama—but of *the enterprise itself.*" Howe's letter to the newspapers, Higginson concluded, ranked with Gerrit Smith's insanity as the two most unfortunate aspects of the whole affair.[44]

To Sanborn Higginson wrote, but did not send, a letter similar in tone to that to Dr. Howe. He would expostulate no further, he said, but "as to my *opinion* of the course pursued by you and Howe, I have not fully uttered it, even to you; still less to your friends. . . . I should be sorry that your pupils should not think better of your present policy than I do." [45] In other words, Higginson, Howe, and Sanborn had known pretty definitely what Brown was about; and if they knew, there can be little doubt that Gerrit Smith was equally well informed.

Almost immediately after getting news of the attack on Harper's Ferry, Gerrit Smith, like Sanborn, took the precaution of destroying incriminating evidence. Sanborn makes this statement in his *Recollections,* and on the same page he quotes from a letter from Mrs. Smith, written to him in 1874, when he was planning to publish a full account of the raid. "Immediately after the Harper's Ferry affair Mr. Smith destroyed all the letters touching Brown's movements which he had received in any degree privy to those movements; and he took it for

[43] Sanborn, I. 151, note. Sanborn to Higginson, Nov. 17, Dec. 25, 1859, Jan. 29, 1860, Higginson Letters.

[44] Higginson to Howe, Nov. 15, 1859, Higginson Letters.

[45] Higginson to Sanborn, Feb. 3, 1860, Higginson Letters.

granted that his own similar letters to others had been destroyed."[46] According to Sanborn, Charles D. Miller, Smith's son-in-law, went to Boston and Ohio soon after the raid to make sure that evidence involving Smith was destroyed.

How much evidence was lost in this way cannot be determined, but there are some references which show what letters ought to be in the Smith files. Between June, 1857, and June 9, 1859, John Brown referred to twelve letters which he wrote to Gerrit Smith, giving the date in each case. Smith himself referred to letters received from Brown, Sanborn, and Stearns, while Sanborn reported sending one of Brown's letters to Smith.[47] Smith was careful to preserve his correspondence, and the files for 1858 and 1859 are especially full, containing at least eight hundred letters. But there is not a single one in the lot from Brown, or Sanborn, or Stearns. This destruction of evidence is proof of the significance which Smith himself attached to these letters, and of the importance of the information which they might have revealed.

In the Smith papers there are several letters to him after the raid, some of which have more or less general interest. George E. Baker of Albany proposed that Smith publish an address to the people in order to create sympathy for Brown throughout the North. Leonard Gibbs, of Greenwich, New York, a reformer and politician, suggested that Smith take charge of an attempt to rescue Brown. J. M. Sterling of Cleveland, Ohio, wrote that he expected soon to hear of Smith's indictment for treason, and of demands for his delivery over to the authorities of Virginia. "My brother, I do hope that this may be the case and that you thus, may have a chance to *talk eloquently* to the whole nation." One more of these must have given Smith some sensations which were not at all pleasant. "What a stir the Harper's Ferry affair is causing. But I suppose that you are rejoicing in the experience . . . and I suppose the stir raised against you affects you about as much as they do the everlasting hills."[48]

Gerrit Smith was not rejoicing over the stir, and his steadfastness was not of the everlasting hills. On the contrary he was on the very

[46] Sanborn, I. 168–169.

[47] Writing to Sanborn on May 7, 1858, Smith referred to a recent letter from Brown (Higginson Letters). In another letter to Sanborn, July 26, 1858, Smith referred to one he had just received from Sanborn (Sanborn, I. 160–161). And in Smith's letter to John Brown, June 4, 1859, Smith referred to a recent letter from Stearns (*ibid.*, I. 165–166). Finally, in Sanborn's letter to John Brown, Aug. 30, 1859, Sanborn wrote that he had sent Brown's letter to Gerrit Smith (Mason Report, p. 68).

[48] Baker to Smith, Oct. 22, 1859. Gibbs to Smith, Oct. 27, 1859. Sterling to Smith, Oct. 21, 1859. Wm. H. Fish to Smith, Oct. 25, 1859. All in Smith MSS.

verge of a serious collapse which left him mentally incapacitated for about three weeks, and from which it took him several months to recover. There is no doubt that he was temporarily insane. Charges made later that he feigned insanity, as an easy means of avoiding possible prosecution, instead of going to Canada, as the others did, have no foundation. While the fact of this illness is easy to establish, the cause, or causes, are not so clear. Neither is it possible to state definitely when his illness began. While not exactly a valetudinarian, throughout his adult life he frequently complained of poor health. In 1858 he had a serious attack of typhoid fever, but he seems to have recovered his strength as quickly as could be expected. At least he was able to undertake an active campaign for the governorship in 1858, and he was as busy as ever in writing. So far as one may judge from the evidence of his correspondence and the amount of work he did, he would seem to have enjoyed what was for him a normal state of health down through September, 1859. On the 29th of that month, Hiram Corliss, who had just been a guest in Smith's home, wrote him a pleasant letter, expressing his gratitude for Smith's hospitality.[49] In this there is nothing to indicate that as a guest he had been aware of his host's illness. Smith's health was a subject of such importance in his own mind that when he was ill, he and his friends usually had much to say about it.

The first definite indication, on the basis of reliable evidence, that he was not well appears in his correspondence files of letters received, and, curiously enough, this evidence coincides precisely in time with the first published reports of the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. Almost invariably Smith endorsed each letter received with the name of the writer. These endorsements continue regularly in Smith's own hand until letters of the date of October 17, 1859, the day of the battle at Harper's Ferry. Smith did endorse one letter of the 18th and one of the 21st. His next endorsement appears on one of December 5, after he had begun to improve. But for weeks after October 17 the letters are endorsed in the hand of Caleb Calkins, Smith's assistant in his office. J. B. Edwards, Smith's business agent at Oswego, and an intimate friend, did not hear of the illness until the first of November.[50]

The files contain a letter dated October 28, 1859, from Dr. John McCall of Utica, with whom Smith was in the habit of consulting. In this letter the doctor said he had just had a talk with Judge Savage,

[49] Corliss to Smith, Sept. 29, 1859, Smith MSS.

[50] Edwards to Smith, Nov. 2, 1859, Smith MSS.

who told him that Smith was in no way implicated in the Harper's Ferry insurrection, and that he had no reason to be disturbed over it. Dr. McCall continued: "Now my friend your trouble of Brain, in not being able to rest at night was occasioned mainly by the constipated state of your bowels;"—a condition almost chronic with Smith. The doctor gave him advice as to diet, exercise, and medicine, and advised him to be cheerful.[51]

At the end of October the New York *Herald* sent a special correspondent to Peterboro, a man who had met Smith during his campaign the year before, to learn what he could about the raid and Smith's connection with it. His findings were published in the *Herald* of November 2, in a two and one third column front page story.[52] On his way to Peterboro, the reporter questioned a tavern keeper at Oneida. The man replied that Smith was greatly disturbed, and that "He is telegraphing from here all the while". The correspondent reached Peterboro October 30, and found the whole village highly excited; the impression prevailed that Smith was to be kidnapped, and carried to Virginia. Smith's anxiety was a matter of common talk. Then he went on to the Smith home, where he found the reports of Smith's excitement well founded. The agitation following the raid, so the reporter believed, "has not only impaired his health, but is likely to seriously affect his excitable and illy-balanced mind. *He is a very different man today from what he was twelve months since.* His calm, dignified, impressive bearing has given place to a hasty, nervous agitation, as though some great fear was constantly before his imagination. His eye is bloodshot and restless as that of a startled horse. He has lost flesh, and his face looks as red and as rough as though he had just returned from one of old Brown's Kansas raids."

The reporter found it impossible to get any information concerning the raid. Smith said he could not say a word about it. "I am going to be indicted, sir, indicted! You must not talk to me about it." "If any man in the Union is taken, it will be me." The reporter found that Charles B. Sedgwick and Timothy Jenkins, Smith's attorneys, had been constant visitors at Peterboro since the raid, and he attributed Smith's refusal to talk to the pressure applied by these men.

[51] This letter was written two days after the New York *Herald* published the report that Governor Wise of Virginia would seek to bring Smith to Richmond for trial, as one of Brown's accomplices. *Cf.* letter, F. M. King to Smith, Oct. 28, 1859, Smith MSS.

[52] New York *Herald*, Nov. 2, 1859, "Gerrit Smith and the Harper's Ferry Outbreak", dated Peterboro, Oct. 31.

I sum up my experiences at Gerrit Smith's home thus: He is in evident alarm and agitation, inconsistent with the idea that his complicity with the plot is simply to the extent already made public. *I believe that Brown's visit to his house last spring was intimately connected with the insurrection,* and that it is the knowledge that at any moment, either by the discovery of papers or the confession of accomplices, his connection with the affair may become exposed, that keeps Mr. Smith in constant excitement and fear.

This correspondent's shrewd guess was entirely in harmony with the actual facts. At the time, however, Smith's friends who had not seen him since the raid, simply could not believe this newspaper statement. One of these, Sandford of New York, wrote to him about this very article, urging him to sue the editor, and to make him "prove his lies".[53]

On November 2, 1859, John Brown was sentenced to death. Five days later Gerrit Smith was taken to the New York State Asylum for the Insane at Utica. According to a dispatch from Utica, published in the New York *Herald* of November 12, 1859, Smith's case was "one of decided lunacy", and his mind was "considerably disordered". According to a private letter quoted by this writer, Smith was "quite deranged, intellectually as well as morally; and he is also feeble physically". But the case was not hopeless, and the doctors expected a cure. Strategy had been necessary to get Smith to the asylum. Ever since the raid, he had been "haunted with the idea that he was culpably responsible for all the lives that have been and will be sacrificed" on account of the raid. He had felt under obligations to go to Virginia, to surrender to the authorities, and when he set out for Utica he did so, thinking he was on his way to Charles Town, where Brown was awaiting execution.[54]

This newspaper report is substantiated by a manuscript affidavit, in the hand of Caleb Calkins, with reference to Smith's illness. Smith "became wild—was determined to go to Virginia and to be with John Brown in Charlestown—left his home for that purpose—talked repeatedly with Deponent about it—determined to suffer if necessary, with Brown—Went off with the undoubting expectation of going to Virginia."[55]

These various statements suggest that Smith was suffering from an extreme case of what moralists call a guilty conscience and from a terrific nervous strain resulting therefrom. Being a strongly religious man, he felt that he deserved punishment for his wrong doing, and it is not entirely improbable that he shrank from this punishment.

[53] Sandford to Smith, Nov. 2, 1859, Smith MSS.

[54] New York *Herald*, Nov. 12, 1859, citing Utica despatch, Nov. 11, 1859.

[55] Smith MSS., undated, but apparently written in 1867.

Then, as a man of deep loyalty to his friends, he felt a heavy sense of personal responsibility for Brown's fate, a responsibility in direct ratio to the help which he had rendered. Smith's illness immediately following the news of Brown's capture, and his insanity at news of his sentence indicate how intimately the whole chain of these late events in Brown's career affected his thought and emotions. Delirium was the only escape from this tangle of conflicts.

A contemporary medical diagnosis of Smith's case is to be found in a letter from Dr. John P. Gray, who was then in charge of the State Asylum at Utica, to John Cochrane, Smith's nephew, December 16, 1859.[56]

> The fact is the cause or causes of his present attack go back beyond the Harper's Ferry affair. That shock was but "the last straw". He never fully recovered from the attack of fever in New York. Following convalescence there he had dropsical limbs and other indications of impaired Constitution—The swelling of his limbs subsided and in a few months returned and gave him trouble. The part he took in the last gubernatorial contest imposed upon him for months, excessive labor, and immediately afterward he was attacked with serious indigestion and sympathetic disturbances of the action of the heart. He, however, rather increased than diminished his labors, both physical and mental, and aggravated dyspepsia and greater impairment of health was the consequence. He realized his depreciating strength but not the probable end. For months before he came here he had periods of depression and intellectual exaltation only to be accounted for on the theory of then existing cerebral disturbance and the approach of serious brain trouble. Indeed in carefully reviewing his case and condition I am inclined to think the Harper's Ferry shock only hastened the development of a disease which at no very remote period would have appeared in a more unfavorable form.

This theory of an inevitable collapse might perhaps now be regarded as a sort of *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that Smith would not have suffered this temporary eclipse of his reason, had it not been for the tremendous strain imposed by the circumstances attendant upon the raid. And if the organic weakness had been as serious as Dr. Gray said it was, it is difficult for the layman to explain, or to understand, the very rapid recovery. In less than three weeks after he entered the asylum, Smith was able to have his wife as his guest at Thanksgiving dinner. In a month his friends were congratulating him on the prospect of his speedy recovery. In six weeks he was able to walk or to ride out, daily, and he was gaining strength slowly. On December 19, Dr. Gray reported to Mrs. Smith that her

[56] Smith MSS.

husband had slept every night since the last report.[57] Ten days later he returned to Peterboro. On June 7, 1860, Gerrit Smith wrote to his friend Charles Sumner: "I have gone thro' a sickness not so protracted as yours—but more prostrating. Now, through great mercy, I am in good health."[58]

Although genuine and not feigned, there is no doubt that this illness did save Smith from further embarrassment on account of his complicity in Brown's work. On December 14, 1859, the United States Senate appointed the so-called Mason committee to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair, and to determine if possible whether the attack was made under the auspices of any organized group. If such an organization were discovered, the committee was instructed to look into its character and importance, and to determine "whether any citizens of the United States not present were implicated therein, or accessory thereto, by contributions of money, arms, munitions, or otherwise". The members began work on January 4, 1860, and finished on the following June 14. On January 11, 1860, the chairman was authorized to summon, among others, F. B. Sanborn, Edwin Morton, Dr. S. G. Howe, and Gerrit Smith. Some two months later Smith's nephew, John Cochrane, then a member of Congress, wrote his uncle about private conferences with the committee. The members agreed that Smith should not be summoned without previous notice to Cochrane. On March 21 Smith himself wrote that he would be entirely willing to appear before the committee at any time, provided that, after consultation with Dr. Gray, the members should think it proper to call for him. Dr. Gray, however, declared (April 9, 1860) emphatically that Smith's health would not admit of his going to Washington. On May 24, 1860, Chairman Mason announced to the committee that the summons issued for Morton and for Gerrit Smith had not been served, because Morton could not be found—he had fled the country—and because "Mr. Smith's health was such as to render it improper to bring him here".[59]

It is perhaps only a coincidence that the complete rehabilitation of Smith's health came with the conclusion of the committee's work.

[57] A. Becker to Smith, Dec. 8, 1859, Smith MSS. Dr. Gray, *op. cit.*

[58] Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860, original in Smith MSS., copy in Widener Library

[59] The members were James M. Mason, chairman, Jefferson Davis, G. N. Fitch, J. Collamer, and J. R. Doolittle. Mason Report, pp. 1, 29–30, 38. Cochrane to Smith, Mar. 17, 1860; with this is the draft of Smith's reply, in the third person, but in his own hand, Mar. 21, 1860; Dr. Gray's opinion was given in a letter to C. D. Miller, Apr. 9, 1860, Smith MSS.

Two weeks after the committee had decided not to summon him he informed Sumner of his recovery. Five days after the committee concluded its labors, Cochrane expressed his delight at Smith's "entire restoration to health".[30] This is perhaps not surprising. The news of the John Brown raid, with the resulting fear of being caught as an accomplice, had been the immediate cause of Smith's collapse; as this danger receded, recovery progressed.

It is obvious that the Mason committee had no genuine, earnest desire to investigate the work of those men who really knew something about Brown's conspiracy. This conclusion is suggested by the committee's chivalrous consideration for Smith's health, and also by its attitude toward the other accomplices. Dr. Howe, who had gone to Canada to avoid disclosing too much, and who on one occasion had characterized the committee as "extra-judicial, inquisitorial, illegal, as I believe, and infernal in its objects and purposes as I know", finally testified before it. On closer acquaintance he found it not so bad as he had feared; "no one is obliged to volunteer any information to the Investigating Committee," he wrote. "He has only to answer their questions. In my case they were very unskilful and failed to get out of me some information which they might have been glad to have."[61] Higginson, who was never even summoned, inferred that the committee purposely overlooked him, because he had made no pretence of hiding. He was convinced that the committee did not wish to probe too deeply, because of fear of the effect on the country if the John Brown affair were given any further publicity. Mason, he said, did not wish to have Brown defended by his friends.[62] Apart from the practically fruitless investigation of this committee, the Federal government made no attempt whatever to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair. Inconceivable as it may seem, no Federal grand jury proceedings were instituted, although enough documentary evidence was found on Brown to warrant them, and no one but Sanborn was ever subjected to the slightest inconvenience by Federal authorities. This degree of consideration for the conspirators was probably due, as Higginson suggested, to the fear of raising any more stir over Brown, and to a realization by the authorities of the danger of making any more martyrs to the anti-slavery cause.

One of the most baffling aspects of Smith's connection with the

[60] Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860, Smith MSS. Cochran to Smith, June 19, 1860, Smith MSS.

[61] Howe, *Letters and Journals*, II. 441. Howe to Higginson, Feb. 16, 1860, Higginson Letters.

[62] Higginson to Sanborn, Feb. 3, 1860, Higginson Letters.

Harper's Ferry incident was his subsequent denial, emphatic and repeated, of any real complicity in the enterprise; baffling because the denial is so patently at variance with the facts, and because of Smith's well-founded reputation—in all other activities throughout his life—for absolute candor and frank, open dealing. In brief, after he recovered his reason, he consistently held that his part in the affair had been entirely casual and insignificant. He admitted that he knew John Brown, and that he had on occasion given him small sums of money, but after the manner of Dr. Howe, he most indignantly repudiated the idea that he had known of Brown's plans, and that he had had an important part in the attempted execution of them.

At first this denial of knowledge and participation seemed to be the simple and perhaps entirely comprehensible result of the brief attack of insanity. Naturally in retrospect the attendant circumstances would appear a bit blurred. Writing on March 21, 1860, Smith said that he had "but a hazy view of nearly the whole of 1859". Not long afterwards it would appear that he wrote to Sanborn, asking for some reminders as to what had gone on. In any case Sanborn wrote Smith: "I trust the Committee will see that it is the part of prudence not to summon any more witnesses, and so will not call on you. I do not see how your testimony can be of much service to them, nor is it worth while for me to refresh your memory as to the events of '57, '58, and '59." And in Smith's letter to Sumner, referred to above, he had written: "Much of the year 1859 is a black dream to me; and much of it hazy and uncertain." [63]

Obviously, Smith could have cleared away some of the blackness, and refreshed his own memory of those years, had he not taken pains to destroy all his correspondence bearing upon the matter. He had been sane enough to see to that after news of the raid reached him. Nor was this destruction of evidence confined to October, 1859. As late as June 18, 1860, somebody, presumably Smith himself, tore out a sentence from one of Sanborn's letters referring to the Mason committee.[64]

In February, 1860, when there was every probability that Smith would be called before the Mason committee, Charles D. Miller published an elaborate denial of Smith's knowledge of and partnership in the Brown enterprise. This was done with Smith's full knowledge and approval, and under such circumstances as to attract widespread

[63] Smith, draft of letter to Cochrane, Mar. 21, 1860. Sanborn to Smith, May 10, 1860. Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860. All in Smith MSS.

[64] Sanborn to Smith, June 18, 1860, Smith MSS.

attention. Replying to a charge by a group of New York Democrats, the Vigilant Association, published in the New York *Herald* and in other newspapers, that Gerrit Smith had been intimately concerned in the Brown plot, and that he had been a member of the central organization which sponsored Brown's work,[65] Miller denied that his father-in-law belonged to any central organization for destroying slavery, and asserted that Smith condemned "all shedding of human blood, save by Government". Miller also said that Smith had never heard of Brown's constitution until within a few weeks, and that he had had no idea of the nature or character of Brown's proposed government. In a letter of February 26, 1860, to S. L. M. Barlow, one of the officers of the association, Miller wrote: "No one feels deeper sorrow than does Mr. Smith, that his precious, nay idolized friend, was led into the mistake of shedding blood in his last attempt to help slaves get free. Indeed, it was that mistake which completed the prostration of the miserable health of Mr. Smith's body and brain." [66]

The manner of the charge against Smith, particularly the assertion that he belonged to a central association, the purpose of which was the violent abolition of slavery, was not entirely true, unless the little group of Smith and his New England associates, whom Sanborn described as the "secret committee", could be dignified with this title. But Miller's vigorous assertion that Smith was opposed to the use of force against slavery was based upon a complete failure to appreciate the significance of his speeches and letters with reference to Kansas, and to his ignorance of Smith's relations with Brown. However, late in February, 1860, suits in behalf of Gerrit Smith were instituted against three members of the Vigilant Association, claiming damages to the amount of $50,000 in each case.[67] By this means public attention could be sharply focussed on Smith's innocence.

Shortly after these libel suits were started, Smith had a pamphlet published, containing notice of the prosecution, and the essential correspondence which led up to it. Smith himself wrote out a list of names and addresses to whom the pamphlet should be sent. According to this record, three copies went to President Buchanan, two copies to each member of Congress—this in the midst of the Mason committee's work —and copies to men who might be interested, not only in New York, but in a number of states, including among others Pennsylvania, Ken-

[65] New York *Herald*, Oct. 19, 27, 1859.

[66] "Gerrit Smith and the Vigilant Association," pp. 3–4, 8.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 3; also Syracuse *Journal*, Feb. 29, 1860.

tucky, Wisconsin, and Missouri. The total number of copies called for on this account was over two thousand.[68]

Smith followed this denial with one of his own, dated May 1, 1860, more definite and precise, and more vigorous in its denunciation of those whom he charged with wrecking his reputation. In this vitriolic attack he found fault with the New York *Herald* as well as with the Vigilant Association. He accused the *Herald* of seeking to "make the exasperated South believe that the Harper's Ferry affair was concocted under my roof. . . ". Then he went on: ". . . John Brown was at my house but once in the year 1859, and then only for a day and a half. He was on his way from Kansas to his home. It was his custom to call on me in his journeys from the one to the other. At the time of his last visit he was sick with fever and ague, and so deaf as to make conversation with him difficult." No other persons visited the house during the time. "But I never knew from what persons, except my neighbors and myself, he received moneys, and astonished was I at learning, after the collision at Harper's Ferry, that the arms of the Kansas Committee were in Virginia." He complained that the Vigilant Association had been unfair to him in publishing an alleged plan for the forcible abolition of slavery along with his letter of June 4, 1859, to John Brown. This letter, considered in the light of the so-called plan, naturally aroused suspicion against Smith, and made people believe that he actually had participated in the Harper's Ferry outbreak. Then, in a fine passion, he declared "that among all the meanest, nakedest, and most atrocious lies, this manifesto [of the Vigilant Association] has the preëminence".[69]

It is obvious that these denials convey a false impression of Smith's relations with John Brown and his conspiracy; it is also obvious that they were submitted to the public before the Mason committee had reached a decision as to whether or not Smith should be brought to Washington. Shielded by Dr. Gray, Smith was finally spared the danger of testifying before the committee; so far the secret of his dealings with Brown was safe. But there still remained the embarrassing possibility that the libel suits against the three members of the Vigilant Association, if actually brought to trial, would elicit the truth. In fact, one of Smith's own lawyers, Lysander Spooner of Boston, specially retained for this particular litigation, seriously disturbed the equanimity

[68] Memorandum in Smith's hand, Mar. or Apr., 1860, Smith MSS.

[69] Letter of Gerrit Smith to the editor of the New York *Principia;* published in the New York *Herald,* May 22, 1860.

of his client by suggesting this very thing. Spooner thought it would be desirable to discover in advance of the trial whether or not the defendants had any real evidence in support of their charges. Although their statements about a central association were false, nevertheless, Spooner said, "if you have been an accomplice in any insurrectionary proceedings of a similar character, that fact could be used in mitigation of damages", with the result that the suits already begun, and others in contemplation, would end in failure. "If there has been anything at all, on your part, which either the law, or a jury, could construe into complicity in insurrectionary proceedings, I shall, of course, wish to know it fully." [70]

Spooner received no light on this matter from Smith. But on a visit to New York, as he explained to his client, he did learn that the defense expected to prove that Smith "had counselled, or participated in, acts, which came nearly or quite up to those charged in the manifesto". In writing to his nephew about this very correspondence, Smith said: "I am greatly embarrassed by that part of it which speaks of his [Spooner's] interviews with members of the Committee, as you will see, when you have read it, I may well be." His embarrassment may have been due to the willingness of the defendants to settle out of court, or, and this is more probably the case, it may have been caused by the fear of disclosures of the real facts. In any case the letter reveals Smith's serious perturbation. He probably did not feel any easier when Spooner reverted to the matter again, in making suggestions about ending the suits. "This advice is given distinctly upon the supposition that no other evidence can be produced against you, than is given in Barlow's answer." [71] Spooner seems to have suspected more than he actually admitted, and these suspicions left Smith uneasy. In November the libel suits were settled out of court, so Smith again was saved from the danger of having his record laid bare.

After the Civil War was over, from 1865 to 1867, Smith was engaged in another controversy, which in the end involved charges similar to those made by the Vigilant Association. In June, 1865, the Chicago *Tribune* published an insulting editorial attack upon him. "Gerrit Smith stands indebted to his sire for a feeble intellect and a large fortune." But, the writer went on, he was lacking in courage, and he had "none of the stuff of which men are made". On receiving the

[70] Spooner to Smith, Aug. 29, 1860, Smith MSS.

[71] Spooner to Smith, Oct. 11, 12, 28, 1860. Smith to Cochrane, Oct. 17, 1860, Smith MSS.

news of John Brown's arrest he "became insane, took refuge in a lunatic ayslum and remained there until Lincoln was inaugurated". When Smith called upon the *Tribune* for a public retraction, Horace White, the editor, refused to make it, whereupon Smith sued him for libel. In 1867, however, the *Tribune* did publish a retraction, and Smith dropped the suit; but White declared that he had in his possession evidence which proved Smith's intimate and detailed knowledge of Brown's plans and purposes.[72]

Smith's reply to this charge was another denial. He admitted a long-standing friendship with Brown, and he mentioned Brown's visits to Peterboro in 1848, and again in April, 1859. He omitted entirely any reference to the all important visit of February, 1858. "John Brown talked to me—but he never counselled with me—respecting his plans for freeing slaves." Brown confided his plans to others, but not to Smith. However, Smith learned enough to suspect that Brown planned to go to some place in the mountains and to encourage slaves to come to him. They would then be armed, to enable them to resist capture. Brown left Peterboro in April, 1859; "I never saw him again; and never again had I any communication with him, direct or indirect, touching his plans or movements." After this time Brown wrote him only one letter. Smith had no knowledge of Brown's plan to attack Harper's Ferry.[73]

To the end of his life Smith persistently held that he had neither been implicated in nor acquainted with Brown's plans. But it is significant that in 1872 when Sanborn proposed to publish a full account of the affair, Smith became highly nervous, and suffered from loss of sleep, as he had done after Brown's capture. This condition became so serious that he and his family feared a return of his insanity, and both Smith and his wife begged Sanborn to refrain as far as possible from using Smith's name in his narrative. Smith showed similar symptoms again in 1874, when Sanborn pressed him for a statement regarding his connection with Brown. Smith gave the statement, but like the others, it conveyed a false impression.[74]

Sanborn could never understand Smith's pretended ignorance about John Brown. Inasmuch as the parties directly concerned never made any explanation of Smith's course in this respect, any attempt to make one now must be based solely on inference. The simplest guess is that, because of illness, Smith actually did forget practically all about his

[72] Chicago *Tribune*, July 22, 29, 1867.

[73] This statement, dated Aug. 15, 1867, is printed in full in Frothingham, pp. 253–259.

[74] Sanborn, I. 230–238, quoting the essential correspondence.

relations with Brown. There is no way of proving that he did not. It is, however, significant that he forgot apparently nothing else of consequence during that period, and that he was still destroying evidence as late as June, 1860, a procedure suggestive of neither ignorance nor innocence. Then, too, his evident uneasiness over Spooner's letters, and his obvious desire to avoid actual court proceedings, after he had gained the advantage of using the libel suits as an excuse to proclaim his innocence all over the country, would make the theory of complete forgetfulness of the past a bit tenuous, to say the least.

It may be that the members of Smith's family were responsible for his attitude. They naturally were gravely concerned for his health, and they desired to shield him so far as possible from worry over the circumstances which preceded his collapse. From this point of view it was necessary above everything else to keep him away from the Mason committee. The safest way to do this was to convince the country of his innocence, and by so doing make it unnecessary for the committee to devote any consideration to him. Then, once this air of complete innocence had been assumed, the family could hardly do otherwise than persist in it, for obvious reasons. Hence the suggestions made to Smith that his own recollections of the affair were erroneous, and even wild, as he said. His own haziness regarding the last stages of Brown's operations, due partly to lack of familiarity with final details, and partly to his own insanity, made it easy for these suggestions to take hold of his mind.

This episode in the life of Gerrit Smith shows that he was an advocate of and contributor to rebellion in Kansas, and that he was an accessory before the fact in Brown's triple crime of conspiracy, murder, and treason. Then his insanity clouded the whole record, so that it is impossible now to determine absolutely whether he was honestly forgetful of his treasonable rôle, whether he was ashamed of it, and so sought to cover it up, or whether, because of fear of the consequences, he deliberately deceived the public. In any case, from 1859 to 1874, whenever a situation arose which might have resulted in the discovery of his close connection with Brown's work, he took every possible precaution to make disclosures impossible. It was this seeming lack of candor which so distressed the Reverend Octavius B. Frothingham, Smith's biographer. But perhaps "old Brown" may have furnished the best clue to the mystery: "G S he knew to be a timid man."

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Documents Available for Research on the Modern History of China

The World War and the Russian Revolution led to the opening of certain archives in Europe which would otherwise have remained closed to the scholar for an indefinite period. A parallel event in China was the political revolution of 1911, which resulted in the opening of the imperial archives of the Manchu dynasty. The passing of the Manchus and the transformation of the imperial palaces of Peking (Peiping) into museums and libraries have made available for scholars an unprecedented wealth of documents. It will be possible to derive from a critical use of this material a more detailed and accurate picture of China in modern times (*c.* 1620–1911) than for any other period of the empire's long history. Modern republican China has nothing to fear from any revelations which may result from an uncensored perusal of these documents. In recent years considerable effort and money have been expended in their preservation, cataloguing, and publication.

The bulk of this material is located in the following places in Peking:[1] (1) in the Historical Museum at the Wu Men or South Gate of the Forbidden City; (2) at the Sinological Research Institute of the Peking National University; (3) at a number of places in the Palace Museum located in or near the Forbidden City, such as the Shih Lu Ta K'u, which houses the daily accounts of the imperial household (Ch'i Chü Chu) and the important memorials and decrees from which were selected those included in the official publications known as the *Tung Hua Hsü Lu* and the *Huang Ti Shêng Hsün;* (4) at the Ta Kao Tien, the imperial rain-temple, located just northwest of the Forbidden City. Here are housed the archives of the grand council of state (Chün Chi Ch'u), and the bureau of colonial affairs (Li Fan Yüan).

The amount of this material is considerable, there being 800,000 doc-

[1] Walter Fuchs, Neues Material zur Mandjurischen Literatur aus Pekinger Bibliotheken, *Asia Major,* VII. [1931] 469–482. T. L. Yuan, Huang Shih Ch'êng Chi (The Palace for Imperial Records), *Library Science Quarterly,* II. 443. These archives were established in 1534 and are now believed to house intact the Ming and Ch'ing Shih Lu, Shêng Hsün or imperial decrees, and Yü Tieh or genealogical records of the imperial family. The building is located just southeast of the Forbidden City.

uments in the Chün Chi Ch'u archives and 12,000 catties, or 16,000 pounds, by rough estimate, in the Historical Museum.[2] Estimates for other archives are not yet available. Much credit goes to those officials and scholars who have succeeded in preserving and in partially cataloguing this material under the trying conditions that have obtained in the former capital since the establishment of the republic. A sizable portion, however, of the total mass of documents in the archives when the Manchus fell from power has either been destroyed or has passed into the hands of dealers or into private and public collections. The archives of the grand secretariat (Nei Ko Ta K'u) seem to have suffered most during the past twenty years of political turmoil and strife. Hsü Chung-shu, a member of the Historical and Philological Institute of the Academia Sinica, which is now in charge of these archives, informs us[3] that following the establishment of the republic, the ministry of education founded the Historical Museum and made it the repository of the Nei Ko archives. In 1921 the museum, being in financial straits, sold eight thousand sacks of these documents to a Peking paper-making establishment for 4000 yüan (about $2000 gold). The eminent antiquarian, Lo Chên-yü, chanced upon some of these documents while in Peking, and succeeded in buying a considerable portion of the amount originally sold. He was on the point of selling them to the Japanese, it was rumored, when Li Mu-tsai (Shêng-to), a wealthy Tientsinese, who already had a well-known collection of Sung, Yüan, and Tun-huang manuscripts, hearing of the opportunity, bought the larger part, if not all, of the documents from Lo for 16,000 yüan. He then sold them to the Historical Museum, newly reorganized in 1928, for 18,000 yüan. Hsü estimates—though his figures are perhaps too high—that fully 25,000 pounds of the documents have been destroyed, while some 80,000 pounds are now scattered among dealers or are in either private or public collections.[4]

The archives of the grand council of state have had, however, a more fortunate history, and are believed to be practically intact. An historical survey of the organization and functions of this supreme governing body under the Ch'ing will serve to indicate the value of the docu-

[2] *The Academia Sinica and its National Research Institutes* (Nanking, Academia Sinica, 1931), p. 92.

[3] Nei Ko Tang An Chih Yü Lai Nai Chi Chêng Li (The Nei Ko Documents: their Origin and their Management), in the *Ming Ch'ing Shih Liao*, I., pp. 1 ff.

[4] The Library of Congress recently secured through gifts and purchase about 150 volumes of documents, some of which are from the Nei Ko archives. Peking University has 1500 sacks of these documents.

ments in the archives. It was first established in 1729 during the Yung Chêng period, for the purpose of assisting in the suppression of local uprisings. Its first name, Chün Chi Fang, or military cabinet, is illustrative of its functions. It was given the name Chün Chi Ch'u in 1739. Its office was established within the sacred precincts of the palaces where the emperor could quickly call the councilors to audience to discuss emergency cases. Its powers were derived from the older advisory body, the grand secretariat, which the Manchus had inherited from the Ming administration. There were usually five councilors in the body, assisted by a large number of undersecretaries. These councilors were, of course, officials of the highest rank, frequently holding concurrent posts. Most of the memorials which reached the throne passed through their hands and were accompanied by their advice and criticism. They also assisted in the drafting of decrees which dealt not only with military matters, but with civil affairs as well, for the scope of their influence was quickly extended beyond its original limits. Affairs were conducted with the utmost secrecy, as the following decree, issued in 1747 during the Ch'ien Lung period, indicates:

> The council of State is an office for secret and important affairs. Memorials given to the Council for secret discussion shall not be disclosed. Hereafter, memorials to be transmitted to the respective ministers shall be filed in the archives of the Council as shall all the secret memorials by the Ministers.[5]

The importance of the archives of the grand council as source material for the history of the Ch'ing dynasty is here apparent. The authorities of the Palace Museum have made a start toward cataloguing the documents, and are also publishing some of them. The following survey is a summary of a general preliminary catalogue which has been published,[6] and an article by Liu Ju-lin, curator of the archives.[7]

The period covered by the documents extends from the Yung Chêng period, which began in 1723, to the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911. There are over 800,000 documents, bound in 7969 quarto volumes. For the period of Yung Chêng (1723–1736) there are 1717 documents, bound in ten volumes; Ch'ien Lung (1736–1796), 142,000 in 895 volumes; Chia Ch'ing (1796–1821), 73,127 in 913 volumes; Tao Kuang (1821–1851), 135,932 in 1113 volumes; Hsien Fêng (1851–1861), 69,242 in 701 volumes; T'ung Chih (1862–1875), 87,193 in 905 volumes; Kuang

[5] Hsieh Pao Chao, *The Government of China, 1644–1911* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 84.

[6] *Ch'ing Chün Chi Ch'u Tang An Mu Lu.*

[7] Liu Ju-lin, Ch'ing Chün Chi Ch'u Tang An I Lan Piao, *Bulletin* of the Library Association of China, III. [May, 1928] 9–15.

Hsü (1875–1908), 295,186 in 3202 volumes; and Hsüan T'ung (1909–1911), 36,163 in 328 volumes.

The principal categories into which this material is divided are as follows: imperial decrees, 3264 volumes; minutes of the meetings of the council, 881 volumes; memorials and replies, 225 volumes; transmitted letters, 90 volumes; reports, 31 volumes; Taiwan (Formosan) affairs, 14 volumes; Annam affairs, 3 volumes; Hsin-chiang (northwestern frontier) affairs, 17 volumes; documents relating to the suppression of rebellious uprisings, 747 volumes; affairs discussed at imperial audiences (Tsao Shih Tang), 239 volumes; records of audiences granted higher officials, 174 volumes; telegrams sent and received, 1258 volumes; and foreign affairs (Yang Wu), 184 volumes. The documents falling within each of these categories and numerous others are first arranged according to reigns and then chronologically. Research scholars have been provided a room in which to work, and have ready access to these documents. For their convenience there is a catalogue (*Sui Shou Tang*) listing a day-by-day record of all documents that entered the archives, together with dates, names of persons who sent dispatches or memorials, and the subjects discussed.

A series, publishing select documents from these archives, is now appearing. The first volume came out in January, 1928. The first ten volumes bore the title *Chang Ku Ts'ung Pien,* after which the name was changed to *Wên Hsien Ts'ung Pien.* The first volume under the new name appeared in March, 1930. A preface states that the plan is to publish one volume a month. Documents concerning the following subjects of special interest have already been published: the Lord Macartney Mission of 1793; commercial relations with Westerners during the Chia Ch'ing period (1796–1821); unrecorded decrees of the Yung Chêng period (1723–1736); telegrams sent to the grand council at Hsi An in Shensi in 1901 (whence the court had fled following the entrance into Peking of the Allied forces as a result of the Boxer uprising), concerning the terms demanded by the powers by way of settlement; a list of the books proscribed during the forty-second year of the Ch'ien Lung period (1777); documents concerning the visit to China of the Roman Catholic legate, dated the fifty-fifth year of K'ang Hsi (1716); and some T'ai-p'ing Rebellion documents.

The authorities of the Palace Museum are publishing another series, called the *Shih Liao Hsün K'an,* the first volume of which appeared June 1, 1930. As the name indicates, a volume comprising an average of seventy printed pages appears every ten days. Important historical

episodes of the last dynasty form the subject matter of these documents. Among the subjects presented in the first thirty volumes which have been examined are: commercial relations with Westerners, especially with England, from about the year 1660 to the Opium War; reports on the collections from various custom houses; the execution in the Chia Ch'ing period of Ho Shen, an official who is reputed to have amassed, while holding the highest offices during the previous Ch'ien Lung period, a fortune greater even than that of his emperor; documents describing the systematic suppression of proscribed religious sects thought to have political motives; the burning of the palaces of the Yüan Ming Yüan by Western troops in 1860; Roman Catholics in Honan Province in 1769; suppression of uprisings among the border tribes and in Yunnan, Formosa, and Annam.

The grand secretariat, whose archives constitute the other main collection of documents located in Peking, evolved during the course of the years 1382–1403. It was designed to replace the old office of prime minister, which had existed for many centuries. By dividing the powers and duties of that office among five grand secretaries, taking their name from each of five imperial palaces, the emperor hoped by the attendant subdivision of duty and responsibility to gain more control for himself. The decisions reached by this advisory body had to receive the mark of approval of the emperor's vermilion pencil before being decreed. Besides advising him on matters of state, they drafted edicts, presided over imperial ceremonies, and were custodians of imperial seals.

That portion of the secretariat's archives which contains material on the period prior to the establishment of the Chün Chi Ch'u, which (as has already been indicated) superseded it after 1730 as the prime governing body of the empire, is now the most valuable. However, after its eclipse it continued to be custodian of certain kinds of state documents, including the Shih Lu and the Ch'i Chü Chu, described above.[8] According to Hsü Chung-shu,[9] its documents came from three main sources: (1) the documents accumulated after the entrance of the Manchus into China in 1644; (2) the documents stored in the imperial Manchu palaces in Mukden, covering the years 1627–1644, which were moved to Peking; and (3) the documents which the Manchus found in Peking chiefly from the reigns of the last two Ming emperors, as well

[8] Reflecting the confused relation between the Chun Ch'i Chü and the Nei Ko is the discovery of some documents from each archive in that of the other.

[9] Hsü Chung-shu, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

as the Ming Shih Lu.[10] The Ming documents comprise only a very small fraction of the total. The Ch'ing documents may be largely divided into the following five classifications:

1. Imperial decrees, regulations, mandates, credentials granted higher officials, etc.
2. Original drafts of memorials, list of congratulatory gifts, accusations and complaints.
3. Documents relating to the relations with foreign countries and neighboring tribes.
4. Documents relating to official examinations for entrance into the civil service, and lists of successful candidates for the degrees.
5. All documents relating directly to the work of the grand secretariat itself, such as drafts of documents issued, accounts of the expenses entailed in the care of the precincts of the imperial palaces, etc.

Between eight- and nine-tenths of the documents fall under the second classification.

The Historical and Philological Institute of the Academia Sinica, which is in charge of that portion of the archives housed in the Historical Museum, is making progress in the arrangement and classification of the documents. A series has been begun, the *Ming Ch'ing Shih Liao* (Historical Documents relating to the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties) in which carefully selected documents are being published. An editorial committee, composed of the prominent Peking scholars, Ch'ên Yin-k'o, Chu Hsi-tsu, Ch'ên Yüan, Fu Ssŭ-nien, and Hsü Chung-shu, is in charge of it. The first four volumes of the series were published at Shanghai in 1930. The period covered by these published documents extends from 1629 to 1656. Among them are four documents signed by T'ang Jo-wang (Père Adam Schall) dated 1645, 1646, 1649, and 1653. Lo Chên-yü, while in possession of a portion of the archives,[11] commenced, with the coöperation of his associates in the Tung Fang Wên Hua Hsüeh Hui (Society for the Study of Eastern Culture), the publication of a series called the *Shih Liao Ts'ung K'an*. This was in July, 1924, ten volumes in all appearing before the series came to an end with the sale of the archives to Li Shêng-to.

There have been other publications of documents and materials

[10] See Chu Hsi-tsu, *Ch'ing Nei Ko So Shou Ming T'ien Ch'i Ch'ung Chên Tang An Ch'ing Chê Pa* (A Commentary on the Catalogue of the Official Documents of the T'ien Ch'i and Ch'ung Chên Periods, 1621–1644, of the Ming dynasty, preserved in the Archives of the Grand Secretariat of the Ch'ing Dynasty, *Kuo Hsüeh Chi K'an*, vol. II., no. 2 [Dec., 1929], pp. 383–387). The Sinological Research Department of the Peking National University discovered this catalogue in the portion of the Nei Ko Ta K'u of which it is custodian.

[11] See above, p. 62.

found in the former imperial archives. Of these, there should be mentioned here the publication by photo-lithography of a manuscript found in the archives called the *Ch'ou Pan I Wu Shih Mo* (The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs).[12] It is a documentary history of China's foreign relations from 1836 to 1874. As published, the collection comprises forty volumes for the last fifteen years of the Tao Kuang period (1836–1851); forty volumes for the reign of Hsien Fêng (1851–1861); and fifty volumes for the reign of T'ung Chih (1862–1875). The documents are for the most part decrees, memorials, treaties, and diplomatic notes to and from China and the powers, covering this most important period of China's relations with the West. Only a small portion of these documents had been previously published. A careful study of them will undoubtedly clarify many obscure phases of China's international relations and in general make possible a fuller and more understandable account than has hitherto been possible. Professor T. F. Tsiang, of the National Tsing Hua University, Peking, has already given us proof of the necessity for a rewriting, in part at least, of the existing accounts of those relations.[13] Documents bearing on China's foreign relations prior to 1836 are being published in the series *Shih Liao Hsün K'an*, as has been noted above.[14] The authorities of the Palace Museum have announced that documents found in the archives relating to the period since 1874 will be published eventually.

There is, however, a series now in process of publication called the *Ch'ing Chi Wai Chiao Shih Liao* (Documents on the Foreign Relations of the last two reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty). The whole set, comprising 120 volumes, will shortly be completed. The documents covering the years 1875–1904 are being printed in type from a manuscript belonging to Wang Hsi-yun of Peking. It was left to him by his father Wang Nien-wei, who as member of the secretariat of the grand council had taken advantage of his opportunity painstakingly to copy this large collection of documents bearing on China's foreign relations. Some other documents covering the period 1905–1911 are also to be

[12] See Ping Chia Kuo's notice of this work in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 870–871.

[13] See T. F. Tsiang, China after the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 79–84; *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XV. 92–101; The Secret Plan of 1858, *ibid.*, XV. 291–299; The Extension of Equal Commercial Privileges to other Nations than the British after the Treaty of Nanking, *ibid.*, XV. 422–444; China, England and Russia in 1860, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, III. 115–121; New Light on Chinese Diplomacy, 1836–1849, *Journal of Modern History*, III. 578–591; and Shen Wei-tai, *China's Foreign Policy, 1839–1860* (New York, 1932).

[14] See above, p. 64.

printed in the series. There is, further, to be a ten-volume index, one of the few recent pioneering attempts at applying this Western device. The vast body of Chinese literature lies unindexed, making careful and detailed research needlessly difficult and slow for the modern scholar, whether Chinese or Western.

With this considerable collection of documents, both published and unpublished, awaiting the scholar's careful reading, it is apparent that anything like a definitive history of the Ch'ing dynasty will not appear for decades. For the history of previous Chinese dynasties a main source of information is the set of twenty-five official dynastic histories. The twenty-sixth of these, the Ch'ing history, has appeared, though it has not as yet been officially recognized as its name *Ch'ing Shih Kao,* or Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty, indicates.[15] The work is the largest of all the dynastic histories, containing 536 chapters (*chüan*) in 134 volumes. It was compiled by an historical board established by President Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1914, with Chao Er-hsüan as chairman. The work was completed in 1927 and published in 1928 after fourteen years of labor under the most trying conditions of political turmoil and financial stringency. Compiled by scholars steeped in the traditions of old China, it was modeled on previous dynastic histories. The material is arranged as follows: twenty-five chapters are devoted to the dynastic annals (*Pên Chi*), a chronological setting forth of the principal events of the dynasty; the section of essays (*Chih*) on specific subjects of a social and cultural character comprises 142 chapters; the tables (*P'iao*), listing the members of the imperial house and the higher officials occupy 53 chapters; while the bulk of the work, 316 chapters, is devoted to the biographies (*Lieh Chuan*).

An interesting deviation from former dynastic histories is the inclusion of two essays on subjects that reflect contact with the West. One describes the communications (*Chiao T'ung*) of the empire, in which is recounted the introduction of railroads, steamships, telegraphs, and postoffices. Due recognition is given to Sir Robert Hart for his leadership in the establishment of a postal system. The monograph on foreign relations (*Pang Chiao*) implies an equality of relationship between China and other nations which previous histories failed to emphasize, having relegated the accounts of all such contacts to the category of

[15] See Erich Haenisch, Das Ts'ing-Shi-Kao und die Sonstige Chinesische Literatur zur Geschichte der Letzten 300 Jahre, *Asia Major,* VI. 403–444; and A. W. Hummel, Chinese and other East Asiatic Books added to the Library of Congress, 1929–1930, *Report of the Librarian of Congress, 1930,* pp. 346–348.

"neighboring" or "tributary" kingdoms. This section is, however, very poor, its statements being often without basis in fact, the compilers apparently having used only Chinese sources.[16]

In the biographical division some five hundred main biographies are given. In it are to be found biographies of the Jesuits Adam Schall and P. T. Verbiest, also of generals Gordon and Ward, and of Sir Robert Hart. Two editions of the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* have been on sale, a full edition of 134 volumes at Mukden and an expurgated edition of 131 volumes at Peking. The Kuomintang, upon its rise to power in the north in 1928, suppressed the original edition, deleting certain parts for political and sentimental reasons, including the biographies of Ku Hung-ming, Yen Fu, K'ang Yu-wei, Chang Hsün, and Chang Piao.

Though modern critical scholarship with access to the Peking archives will be able to modify considerably the value of this dynastic history, yet it will retain an inherent worth as being the last of the dynastic histories to be written in the spirit and method of the old scholarship, by a group of the few remaining representatives of the *ancien régime*. Not only this work, but all the official publications of the Manchu dynasty, and to a lesser degree (there being fewer documents left) of the Ming dynasty as well, will be subjected to criticism and amplification in the light of documents to be found not only in the capital, but also in the provinces, including valuable material located in innumerable private libraries that is gradually being made accessible to the research worker as the exclusive family spirit of the Chinese breaks down before the forces of modernism. A rising group of modern Chinese scholars [17]

[16] See Tsiang T'ing-fu, P'ing Ch'ing Shih Kao Pang Chiao Chih (Criticism of the Pang Chiao Section in the Ch'ing Dynastic History), *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Library, June, July, 1929.

[17] For a survey of the development of modern critical scholarship in China and of the outstanding work accomplished in the field of Chinese history, see A. W. Hummel, What the Chinese Historians are doing in their own History, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 715–724; K. S. Latourette, Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Nine Years, *ibid.*, XXXV. 778–797; A. W. Hummel, *The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian* (A translation of the preface of Ku Chieh-kang's symposium on ancient Chinese history, *Ku Shih Pien*, Leiden, 1931); Henri Maspero, Chine et Asie Centrale, in *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans* (Paris, 1927–1928), pp. 517–559. The National Library of Peking in coöperation with the Library Association of China has published a two volume index of *Periodical Literature Relating to Sinology* (*Kuo Hsüeh Lun Wên So Yin*, published July, 1929, and the *Kuo Hsüeh Lun Wên So Yin Hsü Pien*, July, 1931). The index contains some 5500 articles selected from more than eighty different magazines. The National Library of Peking announces the publication this year of a *Bibliography of Works relating to the History of the Later Years of the Ming Dynasty*, covering the period 1573–1684. It is the first attempt to bring together the printed and manuscript materials relating to this period. Some 1000 titles will be listed.

trained in the technique of critical historical research, have, together with their coworkers in Western lands, set to work upon these bulky archives with a view to rewriting the political, social, economic, and intellectual history of the later Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties to meet the tastes and standards of the modern age.

Columbia University. CYRUS H. PEAKE.

AN ANNOTATED DASHIELL'S MAP

AN interesting map directly connected with the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of August 9, 1842, has recently come to light in the archives of the Department of State.

When the convention with Great Britain of September 29, 1827, for the submission to arbitration of the Northeastern boundary question, was negotiated at London, it was agreed that a general map of the contested territory should be made which, aside from Mitchell's Map, would be the only map to be "considered as evidence, mutually acknowledged" by both parties, of the topography of the country. That map was the celebrated Map A, mentioned in article 4 of the Convention of 1827.

Albert Gallatin, the American plenipotentiary in the 1827 negotiations, regarded the agreement on Map A as of great importance and he describes it at length in his correspondence. He wrote that "the work proved to be one of great labor and considerable difficulty", and in his dispatch of September 21, 1827, to Secretary of State Clay he gave this brief description of it:

> This Map is only a skeleton containing the water courses and connecting together the partial surveys filed with the Commissioners. The contending lines are traced on it in reference to the water courses; but none of the highlands are delineated on it, this being in fact the main question at issue and on which we could not of course agree.

Map A was signed by the plenipotentiaries along with the Convention of September 29, 1827, and the American original of Map A is now in the archives of the Department of State.

Map A was naturally of great interest. The Senate called for it during its consideration of the Convention of 1827, and was furnished with a copy, though probably not with the signed original. What may be called the popular feature of Map A was the fact that the boundary lines claimed by the two governments were drawn on it in colors, the American line in green, and the British line in red, so that anyone could

easily see just what the disputed territory along the Maine and New Hampshire frontiers was.

From Map A was made Dashiell's Map, which is dated 1830. Dashiell's Map was very well known and many copies of it were struck off; there are at least fifty in the archives of the Department of State.

Albert Gallatin and William Pitt Preble, of Maine, had been appointed, in 1828, "Agents in the negotiations and upon the umpirage relating to the north-eastern boundary of the United States". Letters of Albert Gallatin written to Aaron Vail, of the Department of State, show that the map of 1830 was prepared under the direction of Gallatin as one of the two maps to be "engraved and annexed to our Appendix, viz[t] a copy of part of Mitchell's and one reduced from Map A. Mr. Dashiell received instructions respecting both". Gallatin considered the proof, proposed changes, and suggested the title of Dashiell's Map, which is as follows: "Map of the Northern Part of the State of Maine and of the Adjacent British Provinces showing the portion of that State to which Great Britain lays claim. Reduced from the official Map A with corrections from the latest survey, by S. L. Dashiell. Washington, 1830."

Dashiell's Map may be considered as substantially the equivalent of Map A, from which it was adapted. It is a lithographed reproduction of the second edition of Dashiell's Map, which is the first of the two maps bound in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* volume VI., between pages 820 and 821; and that edition of the map is also reproduced in Moore's *International Arbitrations,* volume I., facing page 85.

The second edition of Dashiell's Map was doubtless issued in 1831; it is easily distinguishable from the first edition (although it remains dated 1830) by the fact that a third line is drawn on it in yellow, the line "of the Arbiter" or, in other words, the boundary line proposed in the award of the king of the Netherlands, which was dated January 10, 1831; and it contains a printed reference to that line.

The find in the archives of the Department of State is an annotated copy of the second edition of Dashiell's Map. The annotator was William S. Derrick who, in 1842, when the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was negotiated at Washington, was, and for many years had been, a clerk in the Department of State. At that time Derrick was not, as he was at various times from 1843 to 1852, chief clerk of the Department, though in one of Ashburton's dispatches he is referred to as chief clerk; he was then the senior permanent official, as the chief clerk in office (1841–1843) was Daniel Fletcher Webster.

The annotated map is signed in its upper left margin "W. S. Derrick", and there can be no question as to the writing; many pages of Derrick's clear and distinctive handwriting are in the records of the Department of State.

On the annotated map is drawn a fourth line, in blue ink, the line of article 1 of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, from the St. Francis River to the southwest source of the St. John River and then along the St. John River to the point where it joins all three of the other lines, the United States line, the British line, and the line of the arbitrating sovereign; and the blue line is also drawn as marking Hall's Stream as part of the boundary of New Hampshire. On the map Derrick wrote in the same color: "The blue ink marks the proposed conventional line. 14 July 1842."

July 14, 1842, was one day before Daniel Webster wrote his letters to the commissioners of Maine and to the commissioners of Massachusetts, enclosing a statement of the proposed line in almost the exact language of article 1 of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Indeed, it is almost certain that July 14 was the very day on which verbal agreement was reached on the Northeastern boundary question between the two plenipotentiaries, Secretary of State Daniel Webster for the United States, and Lord Ashburton, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission, for Great Britain.

Ashburton reached Washington on April 4 and he was presented to President Tyler on April 6. Preliminary conferences followed, pending the arrival of the Maine and Massachusetts commissioners; Webster left Washington on May 12 and was absent until June 6; the commissioners of the two states arrived on June 11; in the first of the written exchanges, that of June 13, the opinion was expressed on both sides that so far as the Northeastern boundary question was concerned, "no advantage would be gained by reverting to the interminable discussion on the general grounds on which each party considers their claims respectively to rest"; but the correspondence did in fact tend to return to what Ashburton called "the endless and fruitless argument on the general question"; and in the last of that series of notes (July 11) he again suggested that the negotiations "would have a better chance of success by conference than by correspondence". The correspondence stopped and the conferences continued; but on July 13 Ashburton wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, that agreement had not been reached, although he hoped that "two or three days more" would bring the two sides to a settlement.

July 14, 1842, is thus by the correspondence clearly indicated as the date when the minds of the negotiators met on the Northeastern boundary question; and the date on the copy of Dashiell's Map which William S. Derrick annotated makes the probability almost a certainty; it is not unlikely that the annotated map was prepared by Derrick for examination by the negotiators as showing the agreed line.

Washington, D. C. HUNTER MILLER.

DOCUMENTS

How William James came to be a Naval Historian

THE following letter [1] from William James to the First Lord of the Admiralty [2] dated January 4, 1819 needs but little introduction. James's works [3] on the naval history of Britain during the period of the Napoleonic Wars form the basis of most subsequent writing on that subject. The consensus of opinion regarding his treatment of the War of 1812 was perhaps best expressed by Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote, of the volume which deals with the naval history of the war, "It is an invaluable work, written with fulness and care; on the other hand, it is also a piece of special pleading by a bitter and not over-scrupulous partisan".[4] James appears to have gone out to the West Indies at an early

[1] Melville MSS., miscellaneous, now in the possession of the writer.

[2] Robert Saunders Dundas, 1771–1851, only son of Henry Dundas, colleague of the younger Pitt, created Viscount Melville 1802; succeeded his father as 2nd Viscount Melville 1811; First Lord of the Admiralty 1812–1830 (except for the period May, 1827–Aug., 1828, when the office of Lord High Admiral was taken out of commission and held by the Duke of Clarence, later William IV.); President of the Board of Control (for India) Apr., 1807-July, 1809, Nov., 1809-Apr., 1812, Feb.-Sept., 1828. See *D. N. B.*; Haydn's *Book of Dignities* (London, 1851), pp. 164, 186.

[3] These are, in order of publication:

(a) *An Inquiry into the Merits of the principal Naval Actions between Great Britain and the United States comprising an account of all British and American Ships of War reciprocally captured and destroyed since the 18th of June, 1812.* Printed for the author by Anthony H. Holland, Acadian Recorder Office, Halifax, N. S., 1816.

(b) *A Full and Correct Account of the Chief Naval Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America. . . .* (London, T. Egerton, 1817).

(c) *A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America.* 2vols. (London, Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1818).

(d) *Warden Refuted; being a Defence of the British Navy against the Misrepresentations of a Work recently published at Edinburgh . . . by D. B. Warden, late Consul of the United States at Paris* (London, Richardson, 1819).

(e) *The Naval History of Great Britain from the Declaration of War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV.* 5vols. (London, Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1822–1824).

[4] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, preface, p. iv. (1882 ed.). *Cf.* J. Russell Soley, The Naval Campaign of 1812, *Proceedings* U. S. Naval Institute, VII., no. 17, p. 306 (1881). "The principal history of the British navy during the wars of Napoleon,—from 1793 to 1815,—is written by a lawyer named James, and is a wonder of careful and minute research. In the volume on the American war, however, he has lost or sunk all sense of fairness or candor, and his bitter hostility to Americans, and especially to American naval officers, has made him rather the advocate of a cause than the annalist of a contest."

age to follow the legal profession for which he had been trained. When, in blissful ignorance of the adventures that were to befall him, he embarked for the United States en route to Upper Canada in the late spring of 1812, he had been for ten years enrolled among the attorneys of the supreme court in Jamaica and had practiced as a proctor in the vice-admiralty court.[5] Of his life in the United States, Nova Scotia, and England during the next seven years, and of his desertion of the law for history on hearing of the *Constitution*'s victory over the *Guerrière*, this letter gives a full and clear account. His achievements as a naval and military historian of the War of 1812 fully justified him in making this appeal to the admiralty for assistance. Precisely what the First Lord did for him does not appear, but one is led to infer that some sort of assistance was granted. In some manner, means were provided, either by the admiralty or by some one else,[6] which enabled James to continue his work and to publish his *magnum opus* on the naval history of the whole period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the last volume of which appeared in 1824.[7] He died in May, 1827, and his widow, a native of the West Indies, was granted a pension of £100 a year on the civil list.[8]

Harvard University. HOLDEN FURBER.

WILLIAM JAMES TO THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY

2 G[t.] William Street, Kennington.
4th January 1819.

My Lord,

Actuated by motives which will presently unfold themselves, an humble individual, in no other way known to your lordship than as the author of

[5] Prefaces to James's *Naval Occurrences, Military Occurrences, and Naval History;* see also article on James in *D. N. B.*, and articles by H. Y. Powell in *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, Apr. and May, 1885.

[6] It is indeed very probable that James received substantial assistance from Lord Melville. The first volume of the *Naval History* to appear was dedicated to him, and there is also among the miscellaneous Melville MSS. the covering letter which James sent to Lord Melville on Dec. 5, 1821, with "the first copy that has been put together [unbound] of my Naval History". James concluded this letter with a "sincere wish" that the work was "more deserving your lordship's patronage". At that time James hoped "to be ready with the concluding part in June or July, and then farewell to authorship". Contrary to his expectations, the work received so favorable a reception that, when it was finally completed nearly two years later, he was thinking of devoting his attention to the naval history of the American Revolution. See prefaces to the later volumes, also p. xxxvi of the 1878 edition.

[7] Although these volumes made no pretense of presenting a connected story of the wars, their enduring quality is attested by a long list of editions, the latest in 1886, and the latest reprint in 1902.

[8] See article on James in *D. N. B.*

two historical works, one on the Naval, the other on the Military Occurrences of the late American War, ventures, with all due deference, to submit his case to your lordship's consideration.

Driven by ill-health from Jamaica, I arrived at Philadelphia, accompanied by my wife, early in July 1812, ignorant, till the pilot boarded the vessel, of the war just then declared against England. My destination was Upper Canada, and this the route I had unfortunately chosen. A rumour that a despatch-vessel, daily expected from England, would restore the amicable relation of the two countries, detained us some weeks. The despatches came, but their contents produced no pacific disposition in the American government. We were now ordered to report ourselves to the marshal of the district as alien enemies, and not to change our residence without leave.

Of a sudden burst upon us, like a thunderbolt, the capture of the Guerriere.[9] Up to this moment, my lord, ships and their concerns had possessed little power to arrest my attention; and I was as ignorant about them, as a young Englishman, born and educated in an inland town, and brought up to the law, is generally supposed to be. But the capture of a British frigate by an American one gave a new direction to my thoughts; and ships and their concerns, ships of war in particular, I now studied with all the avidity of an enthusiast. A sentiment of patriotism, hitherto dormant, became roused into action, and soon reigned the master-thought of my mind. Not only did new instances, in quick succession, unfortunately occur to keep it alive; but the jeers and boastful taunts of those around me operated as a continual goad upon my feelings. It must have been an intellect much below mediocrity, that could fail to inform itself in a matter about which it was so ardently interested; but the misery was, that I had no means of applying the result of my labors to any immediate good purpose. My countrymen were either too indifferent, or too apprehensive, to listen to my calculations of relative force: nor would the press, from principle as well as policy, aid in giving currency to truths so unpalateable to the American public. On one occasion, however, I contrived to get introduced into the columns of a popular paper, a paragraph, (merely because it was a flat contradiction to a statement which had appeared in a contemporary journal of opposite political principles,) exhibiting the true comparative force in guns, men, and size, of the brigs Boxer and Enterprise; and I had afterwards the pleasure of seeing this very paragraph copied into several English and Colonial newspapers, as taken *from the lips of the enemy himself.*

During all this while I had not remained without persecution. I was called upon to take the oath of abjuration, and, owing to the interest of a newly-discovered friend in great favor at court, actually offered a lucrative situation; or, as the alternative, submit to be sent to Lancaster, 60 miles in the interior. I need not say, this caused not a moment's hesitation, and to Lancaster I went. My wife's indisposition, and the interference of one or two worthy quakers, obtained me leave to return to Philadelphia. Again I returned to banishment, and again I got back to the city, my own indisposition serving me the turn this time. I had, on several occasions, succeeded in dissuading my countrymen from renouncing their allegiance; but one who had rejected my advice, afterwards, I believe, assisted in betraying me. I let slip no opportunity of informing myself of the naval means of

[9] August 19, 1812.

the Americans. I visited their dock-yards, discoursed with the builders, and inspected the frames of the Guerriere[10] and Franklin,[11] *copying on my nails the tread of keel of each.* At last, suspicion was awakened, and persons connected with the government threatened me with being treated as a spy. As a proof in what light I was considered at Washington, (my *ci-devant* friend there having turned my bitterest enemy!) an order came to send me a third time to Lancaster, under fresh restrictions &ca. It was now that I resolved to attempt my escape; and having arranged that my wife (who heartily concurred in the measure) should remain in Philadelphia, till she received accounts of my safe arrival at Halifax, Nova Scotia, I, on the morning of the 21st of October 1813, departed from Philadelphia, with five changes of linen in a small portmanteau, and about 200 dollars, in eagles and half-eagles, concealed about my person. The extraordinary adventures that befel me, the perils I encountered, and the narrow escapes of recapture which I in several instances experienced, have been often listened to by my friends with evident gratification; but, my lord, I too highly appreciate your valuable time to trouble you with the detail: suffice it, that on the 1st of November I arrived on board the Valiant 74, off New London, and was treated by captain Oliver[12] and his officers with the greatest politeness and attention.

Not all the caution which my perilous undertaking required, could deter me from ascending the New London river four miles, to take a view of the frigates United States and Macedonian, and sloop Hornet, nor from sitting at table (myself alone in plain clothes) along with the principal officers of all three ships, to gather what information I could; and this at a time when every sailor, soldier, and citizen of New London was on the *qui vive* after

[10] The new *Guerrière*, 44 guns, then building at Philadelphia, launched 1814, broken up at Norfolk 1841. See G. F. Emmons, *The Navy of the United States from the Commencement, 1775 to 1853* (Washington, 1853), p. 12. James Fenimore Cooper refers to her as "the first frigate that had been put into the water, on the seaboard, by the American government, since the year 1801". *History of the Navy of the United States of America*, II. 196 (2nd. ed., 1840).

[11] The *Franklin*, 74 guns, then building at Philadelphia, launched 1815, sailed from Norfolk Nov. 24, 1817, arrived Portsmouth Dec. 16, 1817, Syracuse Jan. 29, 1818, New York Apr. 24, 1820; "Flag ship Commo. Charles Stewart, Mediterranean; carried out Mr. Rush, minister to England", Emmons, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 86. See also *Monthly Review*, LXXXV. 313 (1818): "Every account shews us that they [the United States] are attentively and rapidly increasing their naval power; and the late exhibition at Spithead of their line-of-battle-ship, the *Franklin*, which brought over their minister to this country, as well as of the *Washington* in the Mediterranean, has amply proved their intention and their ability to send to sea vessels of this rate, peculiarly powerful in their armament and their crews." *Cf. Naval Chronicle*, XXXIII. 222, letter signed "Albion" Feb. 6, 1815: "I shall not be surprised to hear of an American ambassador landing at Portsmouth or Brest from a 98 gun ship, and a Decatur or a Bainbridge, perhaps a Rodgers, receiving admirals' salutes from an English or French flag in those harbours; this is likely soon to happen."

[12] Robert Dudley Oliver, 1766–1850, entered the navy 1779, commanded the *Valiant* 1810–1814; resigned and had no further service; promoted, rear-admiral 1819, vice-admiral 1830, admiral 1841. See *D. N. B.*

a certain spy reported to be in the town.[13] On subsequently reaching Stonington, where I embarked for the Valiant, I examined the state of the defences, and afterwards offered my services to lead a party to the two spots where the guns were mounted: but circumstances did not admit of the attempt's being made. After a fortnight's stay with captain Oliver, I embarked in a prize-sloop, and having narrowly escaped, first famine and then foundering, arrived at Halifax.

May I so far digress, my lord, as briefly to relate how my wife contrived to rejoin me? My escape, as soon as it became known, raised a great stir in Philadelphia; and the fury of party compelled my wife to keep out of sight. Notice of my safe arrival reached her early in December; and about the middle of that month she quitted Philadelphia, with about 160 lbs. wt. of baggage, including my writing-desk, in the secret drawers of which were many important memoranda. Without a servant, she, a native of the West Indies, travelled through frost and snow, to New York, and thence to New-Haven, altogether about 200 miles. Here, at midnight on the 19th of December, she embarked on board an ostensibly Swedish brig; bound to Halifax. At 4 o'clock on Christmas morning the vessel struck on a rock off Cape Sable island, and soon afterwards filled and was lost, along with the whole of the cargo. The passengers, however, with a part of their baggage, (including my desk,) were saved. Passing over particulars that pain in the recollection,—in another fortnight my wife, in a very enfeebled state, met me at Halifax.

Anxious to publish the information I had at so much hazard gleaned respecting the actual force of the American ships engaged against ours, I applied successively to the three principal papers of Halifax, but found that all three editors were *Bostonians,* and rank republicans at heart. The fourth paper was edited by a native Nova Scotian; and he thankfully gave insertion to any article I sent. It now appeared that the greater proportion of the community was under the political thraldom of this American junto; (one of whose papers was the *'Royal Gazette'*;) and I determined to try of what stuff the colonists in general were made, and whether, if necessary, I could not bring them to a proper detestation of the republican character; the only way, as I conceived, to make them loyal subjects. For this purpose I volunteered a part of my time and talents to the editor of the 'Acadian Recorder'; and from 850 subscribers I, in about ten months, saw the number raised to 1500, without one farthing of emolument to me, or of expense to the proprietor. The three Americanised editors I frequently exposed to the ridicule and sometimes to the indignation, of the colonial public. On one occasion I proved that the editor of the 'Halifax Journal' had copied into his columns from a Boston paper, without a word of comment, a gross libel upon the late Sir James Lucas Yeo,[14] while other Boston papers of a date one day

[13] See Benson J. Lossing, War on the Coast, no. vi in Scenes in the War of 1812, *Harpers Monthly Magazine,* Dec., 1863, p. 15; also Rev. E. W. Bacon, New London and the War of 1812, New London County Historical Society *Records and Papers,* vol. I. (1890), pt. 1, p. 102, "On the 27th of October, 1813, Decatur abandoned the fortification on Dragon Hill at Allyn's Point, prepared his ships finally for sea, and came down to New London again, anchoring above Fort Trumbull, and his movements, (says the *Gazette*) *were observed by the enemy.*"

[14] Sir James Lucas Yeo, 1782–1818, commodore and commander-in-chief of the British fleet on the Lakes. See article in *D. N. B.*

later, and which arrived by the *same conveyance,* contained a complete refutation of the calumny. In truth, I was the champion of the navy on every occasion.

That my accounts of the actions at sea might reach the British public, I transmitted some anonymous letters (as the only channel that then occurred to me) to the editor of the 'Naval Chronicle'. Finding afterwards that these had not been given entire,[15] nor were likely to be generally read, I determined to publish a pamphlet, in my own name, at Halifax. I did so, at an enormous expense; dedicating the work to the loyal inhabitants of the provinces.[16] It met with a most flattering reception, but was necessarily imperfect. In England only could I hope to give perfect accounts; but interest pointed to the share I had just been offered in the 'Acadian Recorder', and to other advantages likely to accrue to me from a residence in the colony. However, a something partaking of love of country and a desire for honest fame, carried me to England. On arriving here I labored hard, and corresponded in every direction, till I accumulated a mass of important materials. Not a soul but myself penned, or even overlooked, an original paragraph in the M. S. S. When it was complete I took it to a bookseller: he gravely assured me it came too late in the day to answer, and that all my reasoning would never remove the public impression respecting our naval failures. My ardor in the cause suggested a reply to both objections. I was then advised to carry it to the admiralty. "No", says I, "for, in that case, the public may consider the work as a party-thing, and the statements lose half their effect; while, as the act of a private individual, they will be read with attention, and tend, by degrees, to dispel the erroneous conceptions too generally formed on the subject." Was I not right, my lord?

At this time I had not a sufficiency of funds at command, and, owing to a 13 years' absence, no friend to whom I could apply for assistance. I was, however, not to be driven from my purpose. At a considerable sacrifice, I obtained paper and printing, and my naval work at last saw the light. It

[15] These were printed in the *Naval Chronicle* as *two* letters both dated from Halifax and signed "Boxer", under the erroneous title A Synopsis of Naval Actions between the Ships of His Britannic Majesty and of the United States during the late War. [By a British Naval Officer on the American Station]. The first letter, dated March, 1815, consists of monthly installments appearing in the numbers for July through December, 1815, *i. e., Naval Chronicle,* XXXIV. 35, 131, 217, 295, 385, 466. The second letter, dated June 15, 1815, which deals only with the action between the *Endymion* and the *President,* is in the January number, 1816, *i. e., Naval Chronicle,* XXXV. 31. Selections from this Synopsis were reprinted and reviewed in the American *Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle,* VII., VIII. (1816). When paying his respects to this review, in the preface to his *Military Occurrences* dated May 16, 1818, James himself could give no explanation of the British *Naval Chronicle's* error; he refers, p. xii, to the Synopsis as "consisting of *extracts* from a series of letters, signed 'Boxer', forwarded by the author, (but who had neither designated himself as, nor can claim the honour to be, 'a British naval officer') from Halifax, Nova Scotia; and becoming, afterwards, the groundwork of the author's pamphlet in Halifax, and subsequent volume in this country". Admiral Mahan quotes the Synopsis as written by a British officer without any reference to James's authorship; see Mahan's *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812,* II. 260, n. (Boston, 1919).

[16] *An Inquiry into the Merits of the principal Naval Actions.* For full title, see above, note 3, (a). More actions are dealt with in this pamphlet than in the Synopsis, but in substance the two are much the same.

was not long afterwards that I received, through Mr. Croker,[17] from the honorable board at which your lordship presides, the gratifying communication that my statements were accurately drawn up: a communication most liberally accompanied by an order for 40 copies of the work. After some considerable delay I got ready the military companion to my naval volume. Here I not only readily obtained the honorable the lords of the admiralty as subscribers for 20 copies, but your lordship (to whom individually after what the honorable board had done, I could not venture *specially* to apply) was pleased to honor my list with your name also.

Even on getting this second work to press I experienced considerable difficulties, especially as no monies were yet due to me on account of the first. To the latter, although, as I have informed your lordship, published at my sole expense and risk, I was, out of deference to a very powerful body of men to poor tyro-authors, compelled to affix a bookseller's name as the publisher. Chance conducted me to Mr. Egerton's, and his respectable name is on the title-page of the naval work. Conceiving that Mr. Egerton, as an avowed military bookseller, would readily engage in publishing my military work, I applied to him on the subject. He stated that, as a particular friend of his, and a half-brother to the late Sir George Prevost [18] had expressed much displeasure at the freedom with which I had commented upon that officer's military character, as affected by the Lake Champlain action, he had promised that his (Mr. Egerton's) name should not appear as the publisher of the second or military work; particularly, if anything further was to be brought forward against the late governor-general. Of course I could not pledge myself to that.[19] This was a very awkward circumstance, on more accounts than one: however, I at last succeeded, in much the same way as I had done before, in getting paper and printing; and, when the

[17] John Wilson Croker, 1780–1857, secretary to the admiralty 1809–1830, better known as author, politician, and diarist.

[18] Sir George Prevost, 1767–1816, governor of St. Lucia 1798, Dominica 1802, Nova Scotia 1808, governor-general and commander-in-chief in British North America 1811–1815. See *D. N. B.* Because of his Swiss origin he was peculiarly suited to the task of conciliating the French Canadians. Though quite successful as a civil administrator, he was lacking in resolution as a military commander. His personal interference, as commander-in-chief, in the naval campaigns on lakes Ontario and Champlain gave rise to a bitter controversy. See *Quarterly Review*, XXVII. 405 (July 1822), review of *The Letters of Veritas, containing a succinct Narrative of the Military Administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas; whereby it will be manifest that the Merit of preserving them from Conquest belongs not to him* (Montreal, 1815); answered in *Some Account of the Public Life of the Late Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, bart., particularly of his Services in the Canadas; including a Reply to the Strictures on his military Character, contained in an Article in the Quarterly Review for October, 1822* (London, printed for T. Cadell, 1823). Sir John Fortescue gives a judicial estimate of Prevost's services in his *History of the British Army*, X. 134–135. See review in *Canadian Historical Review*, II. 284; also Sir Charles Lucas, *Canadian War of 1812*, p. 20.

[19] James's violent and outspoken treatment of certain officers provoked at least one other controversy. There is also among the Melville MSS. a pamphlet, printed privately and signed by its author, entitled *A Brief Statement arising out of a passage contained in the third volume of James's Naval History of Great Britain on the conduct and character of Lord William Fitz Roy, in the year 1805* (London, 1823).

work was ready, Mess^rs. Black and Company, with two other booksellers,[20] willingly consented to appear on the title-page.

Now, my lord, permit me to offer a few words upon the works themselves. Your lordship may have remarked that a great proportion of the military work contains naval matter. This happened, not only from the difficulty, nay impossibility, of serving the two services, when engaged in conjoint operations, but because answers to some queries which I had long since put to certain officers, unexpectedly reached me after the publication of the work they had been intended for. My desire to do every justice to a subject which had engaged my maiden labors as an author, determined me to incorporate my newly acquired naval materials into my military publication.

Your lordship will scarcely need to be reminded that the accurate and intelligent David Hume says,—"There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions, derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness in which everything is there involved; no wonder, therefore, that relations of these battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions, especially when compared by writers of the hostile nations, who take a pleasure in exalting their own advantages, and suppressing those of the enemy." (Hist. of England, vol. 7. p. 507. 8vo. edit. 1778.) I hope, my lord, that my first work has in part refuted this charge against Naval History, and proved, that method, clearness, and impartiality, may unite in elucidating the account of a sea-fight, to whatever degree obscured by slovenly writers at home, or by unprincipled ones abroad. Henceforth, no naval historian will dare to describe a battle, without shewing the exact force in weight of metal, men, and size, of the contending ships, and without submitting to his reader, the enemy's, as well as his own account of the transaction. In addition to my having been the first, by endeavours to reconcile conflicting statements, to set an example of impartiality, that great desideratum of history, I pique myself not a little, my lord, upon the plan by which I have exhibited the comparative force in every naval action, a plan that has carried conviction to the general reader, and been highly approved, I feel proud in saying, by naval officers of the first rank and distinction. It is this 'cyphering business' that has so kindled the wrath, and still defies the ingenuity of the American people.

Your lordship will not, I hope, consider me as prizing my naval work too highly, when I avow a belief that it has, to the full extent of its circulation, wrought a change in the public sentiments as to the merits of our naval actions with America. Many persons, utter strangers to me, have declared that, although they had sat down to the book with their national self-love sadly depressed by what they had previously read and heard on the subject, they had risen from the perusal of my work, with feelings heightened to their wonted pitch of veneration for our wooden walls, and of pride in the country to which they owed their allegiance. Among others, one distinguished officer, sir Christopher Cole,[21] who, though a stranger to me, is

[20] James Richardson, Cornhill; and John Booth, Duke Street, Portland Place.

[21] Sir Christopher Cole, b. 1771, entered the navy 1780, took a prominent part in the naval operations in the Persian Gulf and in the Dutch East Indies 1803–1811, knighted 1812, honorary D. C. L. Oxford 1812, K. C. B. 1815; commanded the *Rippon*, 74, 1813–1815; M. P. Glamorganshire 1817–1820, 1820–1826, 1826–1830. See Edward Osler, *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth* [Sir Edward Pellew] (London, 1835), app. F., pp. 407–412.

doubtless well-known to your lordship, in reply to my printed application for his name as a subscriber to my military work, writes thus of my naval one:—"I offer you my thanks as a seaman for the able manner in which you have combatted the vanity of our opponents, and the prejudices and ignorance of many of our own countrymen on that subject."— On the other hand, my lord, the Americans are exasperated beyond measure at the truths I have divulged. Far from attempting to disprove my statements, they are contented with libelling my character. One editor having christened me *Robert,* another finds out that "about 19 years ago Robert James was sentenced to the New York state-prison at hard labour for life on a conviction for forgery, but was afterwards reprieved by the governor;" and at once identifies this reprieved felon as the author of the "Naval Occurrences". Hence all the other journalists, from Georgia to Maine and from the coast to Illinois, gladly copy a paragraph thus conclusive against a writer, who had treated their 'heroes' with so little ceremony, and made a laughing-stock for Europe of themselves and their naval triumphs. Even recently, the United States' government-paper, the 'National Intelligencer', has renewed its abuse; and, although several copies of the work are in America, begins an article against me with—*"These Alias Felons".*[22] The way in which a strict regard to truth compelled me to speak of the late sir George Prevost has provoked one of his friends in Quebec to fill six columns of the 'Quebec Gazette' with abuse against the two works and their author, as well as against the late Sir James Yeo. The writer, although he admits that the Canadian campaigns are upon the whole correctly detailed, is malicious enough to extract every sentence at all likely to irritate the feelings of an American. The consequence is, that these strictures, long as they are, appear in the New York papers; and that the discovery of my real Christian name, far from softening my doom, does but bring down upon me additional anathemas.—In short, my lord, the key of the republic of America is for ever turned against me: nor would my person be safe in any neutral place, to which Americans usually resort.

As it was not till a year and a half subsequent to the termination of the war with America, that my naval work made its appearance, it may be reasonably concluded that, had I not written upon the subject, no other person would. In that case, my lord, is it too much to say, that the naval character of our country would not have stood so high as it now does? The partial effect that would have been produced by any set of statements, how

[22] The story that James was a "horse-doctor" is apparently of later origin. James Fenimore Cooper, replying to an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for Apr., 1840 (LXXI. 120), which had criticized him for paying no apparent attention to James's works in his *History of the Navy of the United States* (1839), thus referred to James. See *United States Democratic Review,* May, and June, 1842 (new series, X. 411, 515). These articles, contemptuous and unrestrained in their abuse of James, are unsigned and written in the third person, but the editor's note admits Cooper's authorship. Consequently, the story found its way into Thomas R. Lounsbury's *James Fenimore Cooper* (1882), p. 206, and is repeated in the recent life of Cooper by Henry Walcott Boynton. See H. W. Boynton, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1931), p. 302. *Cf.* article on James in *D. N. B.* "It was falsely asserted that James was an American by birth, that he had been guilty of felony nineteen years before, had been condemned and reprieved, and was now seeking a base revenge on his injured country. Later writers of repute have repeated the baseless slander, with the addition that he was a veterinary surgeon, or 'horse doctor' ".

accurately soever prepared, issuing from, or under the avowed auspices of, your lordship's honorable board, may be taken from the alacrity shewn by the American journals abroad, and the 'Morning Chronicle' here, to charge the "Naval Occurrences" with being an 'Admiralty production'. That the writer is in no way connected, either with navy or army, evinces the disterestedness of his labors, and must add weight to his arguments. Even the dedication, my lord, I would not allow to betray a bias in the cause for which I wrote. My friends importuned me, but I was invulnerable. Each gallant officer [23] to whom my works are inscribed tells me he considers it as the highest compliment paid to his professional character: beyond that gratifying assurance I have nothing to expect; nor, indeed, am I personally known to either.

At last, my lord, I come to the gist of my long address to you; and, to augur from the state of perplexity toward which my thoughts now unhappily seem verging, I dread being less intelligible than I could wish, or than the importance of my case demands. Your indulgence, my lord, I therefore solicit, while I hasten to relieve your lordship's condescending attention by bringing my letter to a close.

In paper, printing, and publishing, my two works have cost me upwards of 1300$^{l.}$ of which sum 580$^{l.}$ attach to the naval work. About 700 copies of the latter have been *bona fide* sold, which, at 14^{s}/3^{d} each, (selling price 20s/), return me, or rather will return me when all the money is got in, 498$^{l.}$. Of the remaining 800 copies, out of 1500, the number published, about 100 (including those for stationer's hall) have been given away; about 200 are distributed for sale, and may be in part disposed of; and the remaining 500 are in the printer's warehouse. Of the military work, of which 1000 copies were printed, about 650 have been *bona fide* sold; about 50 given away, and the remaining 300 are distributed for sale, part of them abroad. About 60 of these 650 copies have been paid for at the selling price, 30s/; the remaining 590 copies will, by *October next,* have put in my hands at 18^{s}/9^{d} each, £273:2:3; which sum, added to 90$^{l.}$ for the 60 copies sold at full price, makes 363$^{l.}$: the two sums of 498$^{l.}$ and 363$^{l.}$ making 861$^{l.}$ out of the 1300$^{l.}$ But my actual receipts do not exceed 420$^{l.}$, of which I have paid, on account of the naval work, about 200$^{l.}$ and none yet, though in a few days 60$^{l.}$ will be due, for the military work.

Your lordship will not require to be told, that the technical and other knowledge displayed, as I flatter myself your lordship will admit, in my two works, could not be attained by an unprofessional man without almost a total devotion of his time and talents to the subject, and that for no short continuance. Permit me here, my lord, to quote the words of the 'Monthly Review' for March last, (a review whose political feelings must have created a prejudice against me,) on the merits of my naval work: "It affords a really uncommon instance of patriotic labour and industry, as well as of

[23] James dedicated the *Naval Occurrences* to Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, 1776–1841, captain of the *Shannon,* 38, 1806–1813; captured the *Chesapeake* in the famous action off Boston Light June 1, 1813; baronet Sept., 1813; K. C. B. 1815; rear-admiral 1830. See *D. N. B.* He dedicated the *Military Occurrences* to "Lieut.-Colonel John Harvey, C. B., Deputy-Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces in the Canadas", who led the successful British assault at "Stoney Creek, in Upper Canada" on the night of June 5, 1813.

knowledge on a professional subject attained by an unprofessional man."[24] This and every other review of my naval work unhesitatingly pronounces the author to deserve well of his country. That I sacrificed my own interest on two particular occasions, I trust I have already shewn to your lordship; and how many other opportunities might have presented themselves, had not my mind become callous to every consideration unconnected with, or seemingly hurtful to, the grand project I had in view? I had, when I arrived in England, in June 1816, but 50l. in my possession, and was implored both by my wife and my father, not to publish any work, but to try to advance myself in my profession. With my father I unhappily quarrelled on the occasion, and he now half-jeers me for the *successful* issue of my plans. At one time I was nearly committing the whole manuscript to the flames, and how far I was discreet in desisting yet remains to be decided. From June 1816 to this date is 2 years and a half; which at only the half-pay of a lieutenant, 7s/ a day, would make 340l. As I was born, brought up, and ever accustomed to live, as a gentleman, I leave your lordship to judge whether the maintenance of myself and wife may not have exceeded, rather than have fallen short of that sum. I trust this will sufficiently account to your lordship for my having paid but 200l. toward the expences of my works. In short, my lord, I stand indebted, (I allude to what is, and has long been, *actually due,*) on account of my work on the 'Naval Occurrences', 380l.; and am, I grieve to say, beholden for my personal liberty to the indulgence of my printer and two other persons. Had I possessed an annual stipend, sufficient, with a small sum of my wife's, to have maintained us decently, I should have had no occasion to draw upon those funds strictly applicable to the expences of my two works. Even now, my lord, had I, and could I shew that I had, another fund to apply to for that which we none of us can do without,—food, fire, and clothing, I believe I could persuade my creditors, or rather the works' creditors, for I have none others, to wait till the copies were all, or nearly all, disposed of, and the proceeds in hand.—Am I asking too much, my lord, in soliciting from your lordship, as first lord of the admiralty, as head of that noble service whose cause I have so zealously, and it *has* been said so ably advocated, some situation or appointment, suitable to my abilities, as displayed in my two works, and to my character for integrity, as ready to be vouched for by those even to your lordship not unknown? I desire not to eat the bread of idleness, nor to tax my country as a pensioner; but wish for full employment for my time, and, what may be considered an adequate remuneration.—My lord, without your timely assistance, or without assistance from some quarter, I see the brink of ruin before me.—Let me not have cause to rue the day,—that on which the Guerriere's fate first sounded in my ears,—when I allowed to insinuate itself into my mind, a sentiment, which from that moment commenced its importuning influence, and continued it, with accumulated force, till it usurped the whole thinking faculty, even to that instinctive motive of self-interest, so necessary to all who would either be honest or independent. My very professional studies, during five long years so plodded over by me, and so expensively paid for by my father, have had nearly the whole of their traces washed out from my memory by this absorbing sentiment: so that, my lord, had I friends to set me up, and capital to

[24] See *Monthly Review*, LXXXV. 315 (March, 1818).

proceed with, my inexperience alone, thus brought about, would incapacitate me from acting.

But, my lord, should the usual catastrophe, as, if not averted, it undoubtedly will, attend my distresses, would mine be all the disgrace? Would not the publicity which I could not prevent convey disrepute to my works? Then the terms—'Needy wretch', 'hireling scribbler', and so forth, would attach with some force to the author, and a change be effected in the public opinion of which I dread even to think. On the other hand, my lord, my application, at this late day, if happily successful, would only shew that I had been rewarded for what I *had* done, and not paid for what I *was* to do; and, so engrafted into the system of Britons is love for the navy, that the most violent oppositionist would never begrudge the author of the 'Naval Occurrences' the recompense which it is in your lordship's power, as head of the navy, to award to him.

To your lordship I respectfully submit my case, and, with no slight anxiety, shall await a reply.

In the meantime,
My lord,
I have the honor to subscribe myself,
Your lordship's most obedient
and very humble servant,
WILL^M. JAMES

To/
The Right Honorable
Viscount Melville
First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Early Age of Greece. By Sir William Ridgeway, Sc. D., F. B. A., Hon. LL. D., Hon. Litt. D. Volume II., edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. S. Robertson, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxviii, 747. $11.00.)

Everywhere in this long collection of addenda to Ridgeway's first volume is ample evidence of his immense learning and of the acumen that led him among the first to the solution of the "Mycenaean" problem. There is no less evidence of an aversion from drudgery that prevented him from condensing, organizing, and tying up loose ends. The reader soon perceives why Ridgeway was unable to complete the work in the twenty-five years (1901–1926) between the appearance of the first volume and his death.

The editors very properly, in fact of necessity, have issued the text with a minimum of change or emendation; as it stands it is the author's own. Most of it was not only written but actually in type in 1901. Sporadically, where some new investigation aroused the author's interest or seemed to threaten his thesis, new material was added—one can scarcely say incorporated—but in the main the work presents the viewpoints and data associated with the close of the century, when Evans's Cretan discoveries were in their earlier stages and as yet only sketchily reported. And yet, if we leave aside the use of the term "Pelasgian", the assumption that "Aryan" implies racial unity, the insistence that the Hellenic invaders were invariably tall and fair and Teutonic, the belief that the indigenous Ægeans used an Indo-European tongue, and that the Dorians were non-Hellenic, we shall find the solution of the basic problem substantially in accord with the views that now hold the field.

The coherence of a study that ranges back and forth over the whole field of European prehistory lies in the attempt to classify all known peoples and cultures in two sharply defined groups, one tall, blond, strictly monogamous, with agnatic organization, male succession, and Victorian sex-morality, the other short, dark, polyandrous, matriarchal, with a distinct tendency toward promiscuity, while both use Aryan languages. Thus, wherever Ridgeway finds blonds, he feels called upon to establish the presence of his other criteria; wherever he finds little dark people, he is at pains to show they spoke an Aryan tongue. This accounts for many of his excursuses; others originate in his theory that both types are variations in a single race, induced by dif-

ferences of environment. Quite typical is the section on the history of epidemics (pp. 280–288), evoked by Lankester's generalization that man has risen superior to his environment.

Ridgeway is at his best when subjecting the views of opponents to the test of rigorous logic. As examples we have attacks on Frazer (pp. 183 ff.) and Gilbert Murray (pp. 130, 133–134, 142), and a notable interpretation of the trial scene from the *Iliad* (pp. 360 ff.) where he argues against Leaf. Of the voluminous literature of controversy to which this passage has given rise, he apparently ignores all that was not published in the past century and in English. Yet his interpretation is correct, in my opinion, on every mooted point, and his marked acumen flashes out in the argument over ἀναίνομαι (pp. 364 ff.), the comment on ἰθύντατα (pp. 362 f.), and the clear recognition (pp. 369 f.) of the fact that this is not a "meeting" convoked for a trial, but simply a scene from "the daily life of the Agora", a view first set forth in print, I believe, by myself (*Proc. Class. Assoc.*, XVIII. 93, n. 2, 1921). The contrast between the religious ideas of the Homeric poems and of the classical literature is properly emphasized (ch. III.), though not all the inferences can be accepted.

Like most of us, Ridgeway does not always hold himself to the standard he demands of others. A few examples only may be given. The Phœnix and Laertes episodes (pp. 14–17) show a wife's dislike, not society's disapproval, of concubines; the statement that Erinyes "follow the father rather than the mother" (p. 15) ignores completely *Odyssey* ii. 135 and *Iliad* ix. 571; the interpretations of Æschylus's *Suppliants* (p. 128) and *Eumenides* (pp. 61 ff., 355 ff.) are forced and fanciful; Helen is in one place the typical Pelasgian heiress (pp. 107 f.), in another the typical Achæan wife (p. 131); in the arguments for polyandry among the Dorians (pp. 135 f.) is an obvious misconstruction of Xenophon *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* i. 9; prenuptial unchastity of Spartan girls is certainly not proved by Euripides *Andromache* 595 ff., or by Plutarch's *Lycurgus* xiv (p. 137). Leaving aside such minutiæ, sources from all periods are cited indiscriminately; the extremely complex evidence from cremation is unduly simplified; the early dating of the Hallstatt culture will not stand; the linguistic arguments are inadequate, usually taking the form of polemic against opponents who are not experts. Quite often the discussion resolves itself into a succession of controversies where all that comes to hand serves as ammunition. Despite the defects and the amorphous character of the work, it makes interesting reading and scholars who cannot learn from it will be few. It is well that it has been published.

University of California. GEORGE M. CALHOUN.

The Treasurers of Athena. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. ix, 198. $4.00.)

"This is a work for specialists." So Professor Ferguson prefaces his book on the administration of the treasury of Athena. In large measure the criticism is true, for the evidence on which he bases his conclusions is for the most part highly technical. Still students of Athenian history cannot afford to neglect the book, for from it one gets for the first time a detailed and concrete picture of the financial embarrassments of Athens in the last years of the Peloponnesian War.

Professor Ferguson bases his study mainly on epigraphical documents which have long been known, though many of them have been incorrectly dated and improperly interpreted. Records of 410/9, for example, show that the large reserve of currency, equal to the total wealth of Attica, with which Athens had begun the war, was now exhausted. Payments made during this year were all from current income. The accounts of the following year show that Athens had attempted during the course of 410/9 to build up a new reserve, but expenses were too heavy to permit the realization of this plan, as we learn from the financial records of the years immediately following.

During the first part of the Peloponnesian War payments had been made in Athenian silver coins, but when once the reserve of Athenian silver neared exhaustion, recourse was had to Cyzicene and Lampsacene staters, and other expedients were used to finance the government and the fleet. Finally when money and bullion were gone, Athena's treasury was stripped of the offerings which Athenian piety had bestowed upon the goddess. The gold and silver crowns and sacred vessels which had accumulated year by year in the chambers of the Parthenon went into the melting pot, along with similar treasures belonging to other gods and several statues of Nike made of gold. From the metal Athens struck her first gold coins. Even this was insufficient, and at last Athens issued silver plated silver tetradrachms; and after Aegospotami records identified by Professor Ferguson show that the treasurers issued doles of grain to the impoverished population. The general outline of this story has long been known, but Professor Ferguson's keen analysis of the inscriptions has given to it greater precision and greater detail. One cannot read his chapters on this period without realizing the magnitude of the efforts made by Athens.

After the war the annual inventories of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods show how little remained in the temples. The chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon, one gold Nike weighing about two talents, and a few miscellaneous items, chiefly articles which were unmintable, remained of the wealth which once had belonged to Athenian divinities.

During the war there had been two boards of sacred treasurers, one for Athena and one for the other gods; but when their treasures were sent to the melting pot, one board sufficed. Professor Ferguson has at last estab-

lished the date of this amalgamation, the summer of 406. The new board remained in charge of the two treasuries until 385 when the two boards again appear. In Professor Ferguson's discussion of the treasuries of the fourth century we see how rapidly ancient temples became cluttered with miscellaneous public and private offerings. Within thirty years after the Peloponnesian War Athens made room for new offerings by transforming gold crowns and other gold dedications into a second gold Nike. Silver offerings had also found their way to the melting pot whence they emerged as sacrificial vessels. After another generation the operation was repeated.

It is worth noting here that there are still a few unpublished fragments of Athenian treasure records, one of them being in Professor David Robinson's collection at Johns Hopkins University. Although none of them is likely to upset Professor Ferguson's major theses, the recent identification of a fragment of a late fifth century Parthenon treasure record has led me to review the evidence for his views about the publication of the Parthenon inventories after 412/1. At present I am not convinced of the correctness of his conclusions, particularly when he identifies as the first inventory of the joint board of Athena and the Other Gods an inscription in Attic script written on the reverse of one of the tablets used by the old board of Athena's treasurers. Such a mixing of records is unparalleled, and furthermore the new amalgamated board showed a decided preference for the use of Ionic script, as Professor Ferguson has conclusively shown. Not the least of the contributions in this volume is his proof that certain documents previously assigned because of their Ionic script to the period after Eucleides and printed in the second volume of the Corpus on that account must be transferred to the first volume. Now that Professor Ferguson has prepared the way, other documents can be likewise transferred.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. Edited with Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, and CLINTON WALKER KEYES, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, Columbia University. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, no. II.] (New York, Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 219. $6.00.)

THE documents in this volume date from the second century of the Christian era and come from the files of the record office at Theadelphia. Numbers 1–3 deal with the collection of the *laographia* and the minor taxes associated with it at the time. Two of these documents are ledgers arranged in alphabetical order, and are sufficiently preserved to determine the number of Theadelphians subject to the poll-tax at that period as approximately seven hundred and fifty. In many details these records resemble the ledgers of the

syntaximon from Philadelphia published in P. Princeton 8 and 9, and tend to support the theory for the identity of these taxes which Keyes advocated in the *American Journal of Philology,* LII., pp. 263ff.

The new ledgers furnish important evidence about the so-called double dating for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been found. The editors of the Columbia papyri think that in all cases of double dating the taxpayer paid his tax early in the month, but did not receive his receipt until the 30th. This explanation has many difficulties. In the first place, such a system would undoubtedly lead to grave abuses. If the peasant received no receipt at the time of payment, the possibilities of double exactions would be too great for an unscrupulous tax collector to resist. The edict of the prefect (P. Fay. 21) ordered receipts to be given for all payments presumably, though not expressly stated, at the time of payment. Secondly, if such a system had been in use, we should expect to find some notation in the daybooks of the collectors which would indicate to the compiler of the ledger that the receipt had been deferred. There is no such indication in any extant daybook and, furthermore, it is difficult to comprehend why such an entry should be made in the ledger in any case. Some of the receipts show the double dating but Wilcken has pointed out that these dates run all the way from λ α to λ λ. In the latter case one would have to assume that the man paid his tax on the 30th and obtained his receipt later in the same day. In W. O. 1251, the date Μεσορὴ λ α ἐπαγ ( ) ε would, according to this theory, mean that the receipt was issued on the 31st (?), and the actual payment was made some days later. If these are examples of double dating there seems to be no logical reason why such entries should appear in receipts or ledgers. The government was not interested in a report giving the date of the issue of a receipt. It seems to me that we should seek some explanation of these curious entries which takes into account their presence in a government report. I suggest the following theory. The so-called double dates are found frequently in ostraca usually with λ followed by a numeral. In the papyri we find λ or λ μ (or με) followed by a numeral as in P. Princeton 8 and 9 and in P. Ryl. 190, or εντ ( ) or μετ ( ) followed by a numeral as in P. Col. 2. In all cases these abbreviations are found either in receipts or ledgers of Roman times between 30 and 152 A. D. The only exception that I have noted may be found in a daybook of arrears (P. Princeton 1. col. III.11). To discover the explanation of these entries we must consider the coinage of Egypt. The silver tetradrachm seems to have been the standard currency which the government exacted in the payment of the head tax. There was current, however, a bronze or debased currency (χαλκαὶ or ῥυπαραὶ δραχμαί) which seems to be more common and in almost every account of wages the peasant was paid in the debased coinage. The rate of exchange between the silver and bronze fluctuated from time to time as is well known. The best example of the variation may be found in

the big farm account published in P. Lond. I. 166ff. where the rate of exchange varied from month to month. In the reign of Hadrian there was probably a similar variation in the rate of exchange and this seems to be indicated by P. Giss. 47 (Wilcken. Chr. 326) ll.28–29, probably on account of the rumors of a Jewish uprising. Since the peasant was usually paid in bronze, it is probable that he tendered the same coin to the tax collector. In such cases he was required to pay the rate of exchange current at the time for conversion to the silver standard. Thus in W. O. 505, 506, V. O. 189, 190 payments of four drachmas in debased currency and four obols for exchange (κέρμα) were made. If the exchange was not paid at the time it was either collected later (*e.g.*, W. O. 507) or the debased currency was converted into silver at the prevailing rate. Such conversion is frequently indicated in the receipts by the formula αἱ κ(αί). The phrase μετὰ λόγ(ον) in P. Fay. 53, 54 simply means that the individual paid his tax in debased currency which, *after computation of the rate of exchange current at the time,* was equivalent to the amount of silver drachmas stated in the receipt. Since the rate of exchange varied from time to time, it is evident that the tax collector who received debased currency at a lower rate might easily be in danger of losing a considerable sum if he had to settle his accounts with the government at a higher rate of exchange. If the situation was reversed the collector might make a fair profit. In view of the difficulties of taxgathering, it seems to be a fair assumption that the government protected the collector against loss in the matter of exchange since he accepted payments in good faith at the rate of exchange prevailing at the time. But in a year of fluctuating exchange it would be reasonable to suppose that the collector kept two accounts, one for payments at the normal rate, and one for the abnormal rate of exchange. When the receipt was issued he indicated that this record would be found in the latter account by the symbol λ( ) which should not be regarded as a numeral meaning the 30th of the month but as λ(όγος) or 'account book of abnormal exchange'. Similarly, when the ledger or report to the government was prepared, these payments were indicated so that his final settlement would be clear. If we had the final page of the ledger it is very probable that some statement would be given which would indicate the amounts paid at various rates of exchange. Possibly the puzzling entry at the end of P. Princeton 14 may be explained in some such way. I suggest, therefore, that λ( ) or λ( ) μ( ) or λ( ) μετ( ) should be interpreted as λ(όγος) μετ(αλλαγῆς) 'the account of abnormal exchange'. The term εντ( ), which appears for the first time in the Columbia ledgers, should be restored as ἐν τ(ῶ) (λόγω) and interpreted in the same way.

P. Col. 4 is evidently a part of the same roll as Frisk, *Bankakten aus dem Faijum,* 1. The receipts contained in this roll furnish important information about the transport of grain for the *annona.* It is unfortunate that the editors of each fragment were unaware of the existence of the other, as the

two pieces supplement each other. A comparison of the two will enable us to correct and to supplement the reading, especially of proper names, in each document. P. Col. 6 may be better interpreted in the light of *Stud. Pal.* XXII. 165. The latter is evidently an *epibole* of deserted land imposed upon villagers of Socnopaei Nesus who pay a fixed tribute of wheat, onions, and vegetables. The Columbia document is evidently a daybook of a similar kind.

These six documents yield important information about economic and administrative problems in Roman Egypt. In a book so handsomely printed and admirably edited it is a minor criticism that in the Greek text all accents were omitted. The editors are to be congratulated in making a notable contribution to papyrological studies.

Princeton University. ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

Histoire du Moyen Age. Tome II., *L'Europe Occidentale de 888 à 1125.* Par AUGUSTIN FLICHE, Professeur à l'Université de Montpellier. [Histoire Générale, publiée sous la Direction de Gustave Glotz, Membre de l'Institut.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1930. Pp. ix, 672. 60 fr.)

M. FLICHE has organized his material in three parts. Part I., which deals with the period following the disintegration of the Carolingian empire (888–962), contains chapters on the vain efforts at imperial restoration during the age of Charles the Fat, on German, French, Italian, and papal history during the ensuing period, and on the Ottonian imperial revival. The section ends with a detailed description of the seigniorial régime, chiefly in tenth century France.

Part II. concerns itself with the period from 962 to 1125. Introductory chapters on the German empire from Otto I. to Henry IV. and the Danish empire of Canute are followed by an excellent discussion of the eleventh century struggle between the royalty and baronage. On this subject, however, one may well hesitate to accept M. Fliche's too sweeping generalization concerning the universal triumph of the feudality at mid-century (p. 334). This exaggeration is particularly noticeable in the case of the Franconian empire, for which the author has always manifested a strange lack of appreciation. His previous publications on the *Pregregorians* and the *Gregorian Reform* displayed a decided sympathy for the papal cause. In the volume under consideration, likewise, the reviewer feels that, although M. Fliche tells the truth, the papal truth is set forth with "the enthusiasm of a convinced partisan", while the imperial truth is treated with unwarranted skepticism. For instance, his dark-hued portraits of Conrad II. (pp. 257 ff., 311 ff.), Henry III. (pp. 266 ff., 313 ff.), and Henry IV. (pp. 362 ff.), contrast sharply with the brighter and better balanced pictures given by such

scholars as Ephraim Emerton, James Westfall Thompson, and the foreign contributors to the *Cambridge Medieval History*. It is in chapters IV., The Liberation of the Roman Church, and VI., The Struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire, that M. Fliche displays both the bulk of his own scholarly research and also his most noticeably pro-papal bias. Even in his account of the last tragic episode of bitter disillusionment in Henry's life, M. Fliche has no word of sympathy or appreciation. His Henry moves off the stage, as he entered it, a one hundred-per cent. villain. Gregory's death, on the contrary, is memorialized by a page of well deserved tribute. Part II. also contains chapters (more valuable, because more objectively historical) on eleventh century England and France, and on the early Crusades.

Part III., entitled Occidental Civilization during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, is a well-balanced survey of the constructive factors in medieval life, but exaggerates on the one hand the darkness of the tenth century, and on the other the renaissance of the eleventh. Page after page containing marginal headings on the "Renaissance" of things "Economic", "Commercial", "Maritime", "Urban", "Religious", "Juristic", "Intellectual", "Literary", "Artistic", and "Sculptural", give one the impression that the scholars of Quattrocento Italy are being surreptitiously deprived of their birthright. Henry Osborn Taylor has, we believe, rightly urged that historians "get rid of epochs and renaissances—Carolingian, Twelfth-Century, or Italian" (*The Medieval Mind*, I. 211). M. Fliche, it seems, would contribute still another "renaissance" to the already overstocked market. The volume has a few typographical errors of minor import. It contains several excellent word portraits (*e. g.*, of William IX., p. 649; of Robert the Pious, p. 324; of Theophano, p.•218). It must be said, on the whole, however, that this work adds little historical information to that already available in reliable works in English, and the partisan attitude on papal-imperial affairs forces the intelligent reader to accept with reservations many of the author's conclusions.

The University of North Carolina. LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

Abhandlungen zur Rechtsgeschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze. Von HEINRICH BRUNNER. Herausgegeben von KARL RAUCH. Two volumes. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1931. Pp. vi, 722; vi. 672. 39.50 M.; 35.50 M.)

BEFORE the scholars of the new generation interested in constitutional and legal studies, the figures of Theodor Mommsen and Heinrich Brunner loom up like the giants of a saga. And I suppose it might be appropriate to complete a trinity by including Sir Paul Vinogradoff as well, though he wandered farther from institutions at times, faring into the realm of political theory. Since the war, attention has been redirected to Brunner's work

through the publication of the much-needed second edition of the second volume of his *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* by Baron von Schwerin in 1928. The volumes now under review are further evidence of this revival of interest. The editor of these miscellaneous papers, Karl Rauch, states that his work represents a fulfillment of Brunner's plan which had been to publish two volumes of collected papers following the completion of the second edition of both volumes of the *Rechtsgeschichte*. Brunner died in 1915 after seeing the first volume through its second edition in 1906, but leaving the remainder of his project to be carried out by Schwerin and Rauch. These papers constitute, in the main, a continuation of the *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen und Französischen Rechtes,* published in 1894, and include a wide variety of material which had appeared as studies, articles, and book reviews in numerous periodicals over the entire period of Brunner's long productive career.

The first volume is divided into three sections, devoted to constitutional history, diplomatics, and the history of legal sources. Among the more useful papers in the first section are his article on Schwurgericht, appearing in Holtzendorff's *Rechtslexikon* (1876), and the long study on Sippe und Wergeld nach Niederdeutschen Rechten in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* (Germanistische Abtheilung) in 1882. In the third section may be noted the studies dealing with the date of the *Lex Alamannorum* from the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1885) and the date of the Salic Law and *Pactus pro Tenore Pacis* from *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* (1908). The second volume contains four sections: law of inheritance, *Totenrecht,* addresses and obituaries (of Homeyer, Richthofen, and Boretius), and notes and reviews.

We may congratulate Rauch for making accessible in convenient form this collection of scattered papers, many of which are contained in the journals of learned societies not available to scholars of limited library facilities, written by the master whom Ernst Heymann has called "einer der hervorragendsten Rechtshistoriker aller Zeiten". This has been accomplished with a minimum of editorial revision, while the pagination of the original journals of publication has been retained in the margins. We still await a third edition of the first volume of the *Rechtsgeschichte* to bring the Brunner renaissance to its culmination.

The Rice Institute. FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR.

Le Speculum Perfectionis, ou Mémoires de Frère Léon sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise. Par PAUL SABATIER. Tome II., *Étude Critique.* Publié avec une Introduction par A. G. LITTLE. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, volume XVII.] (Manchester: University Press. 1931. Pp. xxxvi, 278. 15 s.)

In writing his life of St. Francis, Sabatier relied chiefly on the tradition due to Brother Leo found in the Legend of the Three Companions. Our Latin text is only a fragment of the original written by Leo, Angelo, and Rufinus in 1246, and it shows evidence of interpolation and mutilation. The account of the last six years of the saint's life is missing, suppressed, as we may believe with Sabatier, in the interest of the rival official biographical form which has its final outcome in the account by Bonaventura (1263). On the search for these missing chapters Sabatier extricated from the disordered contents of a late compilation (*Speculum Vitae B. Francisci*) and other documents a work written by Brother Leo very soon after the death of Francis. This is the *Speculum Perfectionis* which Sabatier published in 1898 as the *Legenda Antiquissima* claiming precedence over all other accounts. In the following year an ancient Italian version of the Legend of the Three Companions of 1246 appeared, showing the lost chapters in a form corresponding to parts of the Mirror of Perfection. The date for the latter was given precisely by a manuscript in the Mazarin Library in Paris which records its completion on May 11, 1227. Later, however, Sabatier found in the Ognissanti Convent in Florence a manuscript including the *Speculum* with the colophon May 11, 1318, a date which gave comfort to the opponents of Sabatier's critical views and sharpened investigation.

Results justified a version of the Latin text and Sabatier's second definitive edition was issued in 1928 by the British Society of Franciscan Studies. All the critical discussion appears now in this separate volume edited by A. G. Little. The English editor, an expert in this field, thinks that the *Speculum* had suffered more revision than Sabatier admits, but holds it as proven that a great part of it was written by Leo soon after Francis's death and he predicts that the battle of the critics will end in essential victory for Sabatier. As for the date 1227, Sabatier rested his judgment more on internal evidence than on the colophon of the Mazarin manuscript.

Sabatier failed to write for this book the introduction planned, but some fragmentary outlines of it are offered. Then comes minute description of the eleven manuscripts on which the text of the *Speculum* is based, and following that, 130 pages of critical notes on some of its chapters.

Of special interest in the appendix is a collection of varying manuscript texts of the Saint's great Hymn of Praise. A marvelous alphabetical index not only lists names of persons and places but linguistic terms specially used by the *Speculum*, this for help to the student who would compare the style of related documents.

This work records the lifelong devotion of a scholar to his cherished subject and it excites our veneration.

Lowell, Massachusetts. F. A. Christie.

Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377: their Legal and Economic Position. By ALICE BEARDWOOD, B. Litt., D. Phil. [Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 3.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1931. Pp. xii, 212. $4.00.)

THIS excellent treatise observes almost too closely the limitations of time and subject matter indicated in its title. It forms a reliable and essential link in the history of aliens in England, but, as Dr. Beardwood herself remarks, its value will be understood best only "when it can be compared with conclusions drawn from other periods". It is a cross section, not a study of historical development. The years chosen, probably wisely, are somewhat static in character. They give an opportunity for a study of the more normal conditions that followed the innovations of the preceding half century, and the disturbances of the early part of the Hundred Years' War. The material used is contained in the relevant printed sources and in a great many unprinted documents, carefully and accurately studied, such as customs accounts, memoranda rolls, plea rolls, and chancery miscellanea. Perhaps a reasonable concession to the uninitiate would have been some words regarding the general character of the sources. Very little use is made of local records.

It is true that the study of the period chosen does not yield spectacular results, but there are many matters of great interest and importance considered. Our faith in the general integrity of the English government, for example, is strengthened by learning that Edward III. and Richard II. actually reduced their debt to the Bardi from over £93,000 to over £31,000 at the time of cancellation. The enumeration of foreign towns from which alien merchants came, and of the English towns they visited, is of interest, but it is a disappointment that Miss Beardwood's careful researches have revealed no satisfactory lists of the names or numbers of aliens. The general impression is of their active participation in mercantile life and also in the administrative work of the government. There is evidence of the inevitable struggle between two enfranchised groups, the foreign merchants, on one hand, with royal charters conferring privileges of trade, and the local town governments, on the other, with charters permitting them to regulate their own affairs, chiefly through their guilds. The actual amount of trade in the hands of aliens during the period is estimated in general as one-third of the wool carried, that "sovereine marchandise et jewel" of the realm, the chief article of export; one-fourth to one-fifth of the wine imported, and one-fifth of the English-made cloth exported (1350–1360). "At no time during our period did aliens threaten the supremacy of English merchants in the English foreign trade."

On the legal position of aliens, assured by charters, statutes, treaties, and personal letters of protection, Miss Beardwood has thrown new light. The

discussion of the acquisition of citizenship and denization needs perhaps for greater clarity the addition of evidence from a later period. More satisfying are the conclusions with regard to the access of aliens to the courts. With the partial exception of the Hansards they had in England no courts of their own, but the evidence given in this treatise shows that they had free access to the English courts of common law, a matter on which there has been some question. In the years under consideration sixty cases are cited from the rolls of the King's Bench in which aliens appear both as plaintiffs and defendants, and in a few of which both parties to the suit are aliens. In the hope of speed in settlement, however, and because aliens were under the king's protection, much of their litigation was carried on before the council or at the exchequer. The chapter on aliens before the council has appeared elsewhere, but its value is enhanced by being placed in its proper setting. The intricate procedure and slowness of the law, the interrelations of courts, the use of a writ of subpœna are interestingly shown in the case cited of the attack of the mercers of London on the Lombard merchants in 1357. The able tracking down of this long and involved case through some of its hitherto unknown ramifications is a good example of the results that can be attained by a careful comparative study of the records of various courts. The reader is led to hope that Miss Beardwood will continue her researches into the later period, and that she will use especially the wealth of material so little touched which lies hidden in the rolls of the common law courts and other courts where aliens appeared.

Mt. Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Henry VII.'s Relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485–1498. By Agnes Conway, M. A., Associate of Newnham College. With a Chapter on The Acts of the Poynings Parliament, 1494–1495, by Edmund Curtis, M. A., Professor of Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xxxi, 260. $5.00.)

The title of this book gives a fair indication of its contents. It contains altogether only 143 pages of text, the balance consisting of illustrative documents. So far as Scotland is concerned, it covers the period between the death of James III. and the marriage of his son, James IV., to Margaret Tudor. It contributes a few details to the tangled history of that tangled period, discusses the evidence relative to a Scottish contingent in Henry VII.'s army at Bosworth, discloses the fact that Henry was constantly intriguing with rebellious factions in Scotland, and by calling attention to serious blunders in the dating of Scottish documents in Rymer's *Foedera*

corrects prevalent misconceptions about the order of events in Anglo-Scottish relations during the first ten years of Henry's reign. But the sum total is not great and might have been got into a review article without crowding.

The more valuable parts of the book are those dealing with Irish affairs. Here the interest centers around the deputyship of Sir Edward Poynings and his successor, the eighth Earl of Kildaire. Its independent value is derived from a careful examination of the accounts of Henry's Irish fiscal agents, particularly those of William Hatcliffe. The relevant figures are printed at length in the appendixes. In this connection, the author has been at pains to prepare a complete bibliography of the extant account books of Henry's Treasurers of the Chamber, which Professor Newton has taught us to regard as the basis for any adequate study of Henry VII.'s finances. The final chapter by Professor Curtis supplies a lucid explanation of the work of Poynings's parliament with supporting appendixes in which the acts of that parliament not printed in the Irish *Statutes at Large* (and only twenty-three out of forty-nine are printed there), are collected and set forth, many of them *in extenso*.

There can be no doubt that Miss Conway has done a useful piece of work, and particularly in her appended documents has made a definite contribution to the knowledge of her subject. The only serious blunder to be noted is in an appendix (xli) on Henry VII.'s council in which she has apparently confused K. C.'s with P. C.'s in her enumeration of 172 councillors of the king. It is a pity that she has been so ready to accept and to act upon Bishop Stubbs's dictum that anything about Henry VII. is bound to be dull. Professor Fisher and after him Miss Temperley, to say nothing of Sir Francis Bacon, have made it abundantly clear that the good bishop was nodding at the time he spoke. But the stigma which he impressed remains; and Miss Conway, notwithstanding many entertaining interludes in the pursuit of her material, ranging all the way from swans nesting in a moat to uninspired motor thieves (preface, p. vii), has presented her findings in a form which goes far to justify it.

Philadelphia. CONYERS READ.

St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 1515–1595. By LOUIS PONNELLE and LOUIS BORDET. Translated by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. xxiv, 609. 16s.)

THIS life of St. Philip has been brought to completion by two French priests, neither of whom had any connection with the Oratory. The Abbé Ponnelle commenced the research and had written some five chapters when

the war came. He was lost in the battle of the Somme in 1918. The work was finished and published by his friend, the Abbé Bordet.

One may well apply to their production the adjective which they bestow upon an earlier life of the saint, namely, sterling. Seldom does one find such an attractive combination of ransacking research and literary grace.

The saint is portrayed against the background of the Roman society of his times. A veritable panorama unrolls of popes and cardinal nephews, penitents and religious orders, heretics, humanists, doctors and incurables, literati, beggars, and bandits. Among them all I was most attracted by the Church historian Baronius, the many editions of whose ponderous tomes have lately been plaguing the cataloguer of religion at the Yale library. A footnote informs us that the docile Caesar would gladly invite any revision of his own style, but flatly refused to permit any tampering with the Latinity of his quotations. And what a picture of the savant in his apron washing dishes, and inscribing in charcoal above the chimney piece, "Caesar Baronius, coquus perpetuus"!

But I must not feature the sidelights. St. Philip is the subject of the biography. An astonishing and intriguing saint he is, who might well capture even a Goethe. Buffoonery and holiness lie side by side, or rather in intimate conjunction. To steady himself for the terrific ordeal of saying mass he would prepare by listening to the reading of facetiae. He had small use for physical austerities, but to humble his spirit would practice all manner of eccentricities provocative of derision, and lest Baronius be unduly elated over the great success of the *Annals* encouraged another member of the Oratory to publish a catalogue of errors.

The miracles of the saint are treated with great reserve. Not even the judgment of Pope Benedict XIV. is allowed to settle the question of what happened. But in spite of the restraint as to facts, the whole outlook of the authors moves in the region of a sharp dualism between the natural and the supernatural. They do not realize that if the supernatural be that which inspires awe and wonder, then for the modern the natural has become the supernatural. Neither do they call in the assistance of the psychology of religion for the understanding of the saint. Comparisons there are with kindred types within the Catholic fold. But illuminating comparisons might readily have been introduced with the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Methodists. *Mais qu'est-ce que vous voulez?* After all this is hagiography.

I am not in a position to exercise control over the facts except at the fringes of the study. I wonder whether there may not be an influence of the Spiritual Franciscans discernible in the fact that the saint around 1536 broke off his studies and sold all of his books. He had just come under the influence of the Capuchins. Now recent research has demonstrated that some at least in this body regarded themselves as the successors of the

Spirituals. (See Frédégand Callaey, L'Infiltration des Idées Franciscaines Spirituelles chez les Frères-Mineurs Capucins au XVI[e] Siècle, *Estratto dalla Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle,* I., 388–406, Rome, 1924.) In any case the influence was but fleeting. St. Philip later advised Baronius not to join the Capuchins.

The letters of Olympia Morata referred to on page 508, note 2, are now available in *Scrittori d'Italia, Opuscoli e Lettere di Riformatori Italiani del Cinquecento,* edited by Giuseppe Paladino, vol. II. (Bari, 1927).

Yale University. ROLAND H. BAINTON.

L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII, de 1621 à 1629. Par JACQUES PANNIER, Pasteur, Docteur en Théologie, Docteur ès Lettres. Tome I., *Rapports de l'Église et de l'État, Vie Publique et Privée des Protestants,* etc.; tome II., *Pièces Justificatives.* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1931, 1932. Pp. viii, 635; 181. 90 fr.)

THIS is the third part of Dr. Pannier's great work on the Protestants of Paris from the reign of Henry IV. to 1660. When he began his task more than twenty years ago, the author had hoped that it would be a time of peace and fruitful labor. Alas, even in the period now under discussion, the beginning, 1621–1622, marks the years of fear and trouble following the destruction of the Temple at Charenton, while at the end, 1627–1629, are the years of the siege of La Rochelle and of a mounting hostility against the Protestants throughout the kingdom.

Dr. Pannier, himself a Parisian pastor and proud to be a spiritual descendant of the Huguenots, leaves his readers in no doubt of his sympathies, and in support of his attitude he quotes the words used by Bossuet in the *Variations des Églises Protestantes:* "De faire le neutre ou l'indifférent à cause que j'écris une histoire, ou de dissimuler ce que je suis, quant tout le monde le sait et que j'en fais gloire, ce serait faire au lecteur une illusion trop grossière."

Perhaps it is necessary to take so positive a position in order to make possible the arduous researches of a lifetime. On the other hand, the author's sympathies quite naturally color his historical judgments. M. Pannier emphasizes the loyalty to the king of the Paris consistory. The governing body of the Paris church did not support Soubise's uprising in 1625, nor did it declare a fast of thanksgiving to celebrate the arrival of Buckingham's fleet at the Isle of Rhé. Again and again the Huguenot pastors expressed their loyalty to the throne. And yet, to the author it is merely "curieux" (I. 50) to find that in 1622 one of the Paris pastors, Durant, then in exile in Sedan, was entrusted with the written pledge of Bouillon and Trémoïlle to go to Rohan's aid in the south (I. 50, II. 5). The praises of Bouillon are sung because in 1621 he gave refuge to the pastors and some of their flock when

they feared a repetition of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This seems to be enough to dismiss the charges made not only by Richelieu but by modern historians that he was an intriguer and trouble maker.

On the theological side, too, Dr. Pannier shows his colors. In 1629 the pastor Drelincourt published a book entitled *Le Combat Romain ou Examen des Disputes de ce Temps,* in which, in ten special chapters, he sought to prove that the doctrines of the Catholic Church were contrary to each of the Ten Commandments. "Ici encore nous retrouvons la clarté de la méthode de Drelincourt", remarks Dr. Pannier (I. 546).

If the reviewer has emphasized the partiality of Dr. Pannier, it is only to throw into relief the great merit of the main portion of his labors. The leaders of the church, their characters, their writings and sermons are vividly and sympathetically portrayed. Daillé appears to be the most tactful. Preaching on the feast day of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, he spoke as follows: "Si vous n'estes pas obligé à adorer une personne, ce n'est pas que vous ayés droit de la mépriser. *Il y a un milieu entre ces deux extrémités, que vous tiendrés si vous estes sages*" (I. 227).

All classes of society were represented in the membership of the Paris church, the grand seigneurs, La Force and Châtillon, parlementary families, secretaries of the king, and royal physicians. Men of letters were numerous. The French style of Drelincourt and Daillé was highly praised by their contemporaries. Letters weakened the barriers of religious prejudice. Balzac and Daillé exchanged their books. The salon of Mme. de Loges was a meeting place of literary men, both Catholic and Protestants, and, as Malherbe wrote: "Mme. de Loges ne me fait pas aimer l'hérésie, mais elle me la fait moins haïr" (I. 342).

At the head of the Protestant artists stands Solomon de Brosse, architect both of the rebuilt Temple at Charenton and of the palace of the Luxembourg. Dr. Pannier has devoted one of his most interesting chapters to the new Temple which was completed in 1624 and then destroyed in 1685 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There were many Protestant painters but little of their work is extant. We are more fortunate in having the fine engravings of Abraham Bosse.

As one might expect, the Huguenots played an important part in the industrial and commercial life of the city. There were a number of Protestant publishers and printers, and, as Dr. Pannier observes, their presses contributed even more to the spreading of Protestant thought than did the pulpit of Charenton. The author lists a number of the trades and a few names of manufacturers, though here more research will be necessary to complete the economic activities of the Protestants. In the financial world, two Protestant families were prominent, Rambouillet and Tallemant.

Dr. Pannier has succeeded amply in his object. Thanks to him we know

the lives and works of the Paris Huguenots. We hope that the volumes completing his task will soon appear.

Princeton University. E. A. BELLER.

The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. By GEORGE PRATT INSH, M. A., D. Litt., F. E. I. S. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. 343. $4.00.)

DR. INSH has made a notable addition to the literature of Scottish colonial undertakings. It is a fitting sequel to his short study of *Scottish Colonial Schemes* and the fruition of the work which he did in the preparation of *Darien Shipping Papers.*

The story of this trading and colonizing company is an interesting study. The influence of so far-reaching a venture as that of the African and Indian Company did not lose its significance because of its lack of success. The tragedy of its failure left its mark on two continents, and affected materially both the time and terms of the union of England and Scotland. Previous writers on the Darien Company, as it later came to be called, have given less attention to the political and economic condition of England and Scotland at the close of the seventeenth century than has Dr. Insh. It is well that he has done so. The setting of the stage makes the drama which followed easier to understand. Born of the desire of a group of London merchants who were not sharing in the profits of the East India Company, it was finally made an exclusively Scottish undertaking through the commercial ambitions of Edinburgh and Glasgow merchants. The great venture of the company was the attempted settlement of a Scots colony on the Isthmus of Darien, a spot selected most ill-advisedly by Paterson and his associates. They were carried away with Paterson's eloquence and the apparent logic of their own great conception of Darien as the trading center of the New World. That Spain was the titular owner and that England and her West India possessions were unlikely to be friendly to an unwanted competitor were facts ignored. Madrid could not be expected to endure with complacency a settlement within territory to which she had more than a colorable legal claim. The opposition of the English, which handicapped the trade of the colony, weak administration, insufficient and poorly selected supplies, and, finally, the armed intervention of the Spanish, brought both the first and second expeditions of the company to disastrous ends. The fleets which had sailed from Scotland amidst unparalleled enthusiasm suffered on a scale both heroic and pathetic; one vessel only of the first expedition returned to Scotland, and of the second expedition none survived to reach home.

The company did not neglect altogether the plans of its promoters as to

trade with Africa and the East. The accounts of the few voyages undertaken are adequate and of particular interest, not only to historians but also to those book collectors who possess some of the many small contemporaneous books and pamphlets dealing with the Darien venture and with the incident of the *Worcester* and Captain Thomas Green.

Dr. Insh has been thorough in his references and footnotes. His citations are almost invaribly to original records. He has been most generous in his notation of the work done by others. The wealth of detail in regard both to events and persons makes the book of value to students of the period outside of its particular subject. Without sacrificing its value as an accurate historical record Dr. Insh has made his account sufficiently colorful to give it, in places, what may be called "atmosphere". Whether the limited opportunity to do this, permitted by the nature of the work, made it worth doing, is perhaps uncertain. The value of the book to the student of history is not lessened thereby.

Boston. FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.

Nantes au XVIII^e Siècle: l'Ère des Négriers, 1714–1774. D'après des Documents Inédits. Par GASTON-MARTIN, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 452. 70 fr.)

THE first section of M. Gaston-Martin's volume consists of a lucid, thorough, and illuminating account of the nature of the slave trade carried on by the merchants of Nantes, "la ville des négriers". Since Nantes held in the French slave trade a position comparable to that of Liverpool in the English trade, or perhaps that of Newport in the commerce of Rhode Island, it is scarcely necessary to apologize for the devotion of one stout volume to this branch of the commerce of a single city. Here one finds material on the size, equipment, and cost of the vessels employed; the character, training, duties, wages, and mortality of captains and crews, surgeons and chaplains; the nature and value of the cargoes carried to Africa; the methods of insurance and of business organization; the length and the dangers of the voyages; the barter on the African coast; dealings with native rulers; prices paid and received; and innumerable other details of the commerce, interesting and often elusive. In short, it would be difficult to think of any question pertaining to the slave traffic on which the author has not extracted material from his documents. These documents, certainly one of the most valuable existing series for the study of this subject, consist of 787 reports of slave vessels, a dozen journals, and some thousands of miscellaneous items, all deposited in the archives of the admiralty of Nantes. From his exhaustive study of this storehouse the author has

created a pattern of the trade which applies not only to the French slave trade in general but in large measure to that of England and in a lesser degree to that of America.

The second part of the volume presents a history of the Nantes traffic between 1714 and 1774. M. Gaston-Martin's account begins at the moment when the assiento had passed from the French to England and ends with the period at which the trade in negroes ceased to be the all-important trade of Nantes. The confused history of the French African companies is clarified and our knowledge of it considerably extended by this section and portions of part III.; the vicissitudes of the Nantes slave traffic are related to the general history of the eighteenth century; and the importance of this traffic in determining Anglo-French relations during the century is given due emphasis. Part III. deals with the legal sanctions and regulations of the commerce, the duties or exemptions from duties which called forth frequent jealous complaint from the English, the controversies between privileged companies and separate traders, the friction between the French Antilles and the home country. The author concludes with a brief consideration of the business prosperity and the social and political prominence of the Nantes merchants who engaged in the trade in negroes. The pages are occasionally enlivened by facsimiles from the manuscripts on which the work is based.

The bibliographical note affixed gives a brief but useful survey of the work of M. Gaston-Martin's predecessors in this field and a valuable list of the manuscript materials from which the present study has been drawn. To the contributions of this author and to those of such scholars as M. Léon Vignols and M. Henri Sée students of economic history are heavily indebted for the rapid enrichment of our knowledge of the eighteenth century. To that knowledge the present volume is no small addition.

Wellesley College. ELIZABETH DONNAN.

The Journal of Jeffery Amherst, recording the Military Career of General Amherst in America from 1758 to 1763. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. CLARENCE WEBSTER, M. D., D. Sc., LL.D., F. R. S. C. [The Canadian Historical Studies.] (Toronto: Ryerson Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xxiv, 341. $7.00.)

IN 1923 the late Lord Amherst presented to the British War Office the splendid collection of Amherst Papers now listed as W. O. 34 in the Public Record Office. Two years later he unearthed at Montreal House, Sevenoaks, Kent, a second miscellaneous lot, and it is from this second collection, still in private hands, that he permitted Dr. Webster to publish that part of the journals of Jeffrey Amherst which concerns his service in North America. The volume is a handsome one, profusely illustrated with maps and por-

traits. Some of the latter, such as the portrait of James Abercromby, are here reproduced for the first time. Dr. Webster has been content to limit both the introduction and notes to biographical information, and has not attempted to supplement the journal with references to printed or unprinted source material.

The journal itself is somewhat disappointing. Though it fills three hundred printed pages, two hundred and seventeen pages are devoted to a daily record of the three campaigns from May 25 to December 12, 1758, from April 28 to December 11, 1759, and from May 9 to November 2, 1760. There are only five entries for the first three months of 1759, and only three for the same period in 1760. Sixty-one pages cover the years from 1761 to 1763. We are left in as much mystery as ever as to Amherst's activities during the winter, and his relations with colonial governors, and with the civilian population. This journal is primarily military, a story of the progress of his campaigns. We are already familiar with the main outlines of that story as Amherst saw it. He customarily sent his dispatches to England in the form of excerpts or abridgments from his journal, and roughly two-fifths of the information he set down for his three major campaigns can be found in Miss Kimball's edition of the *Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors*. Nevertheless, it is useful to have both the letters and the journal on the same subject, for a comparison between the two sometimes reveals what facts a commander in chief thought it politic to suppress. For example, the entry in the letters for September 15, 1758, when Amherst was at Boston preparing to march his troops posthaste to Abercromby's assistance, states simply, "I halted to settle everything for the March". But the entry in the journal supplies a reason: "The troops remained encamped on the Common of Boston where Thousands of People came to see them and would give them Liquor and make the men Drunk in Spite of all that could be done."

In other respects also, the journal, though incomplete, is a welcome addition to the printed source material of the Seven Years' War. There is useful information here about the disposition and the comparative merits of individual regiments, both British and provincial. The latter almost invariably performed the fatigue work, clearing roads and building forts. With a wealth of detail Amherst described the difficulties accompanying the campaigns, and the entries from June 18 to August, 1759, and from June 23 to August 1, 1760, are particularly valuable, for they were inadequately summarized in his dispatches home. His complete failure to understand Indian character, which made him slow to appreciate the gravity of the Pontiac uprising, appears in a number of scattered comments. Occasionally Amherst wrote his opinion of individual officers, and Whitmore, Bradstreet, Loring, and Stanwix, among others, left in his estimation something to be desired.

The student interested in a particular person, however, will not easily forgive the scantiness of the index.

Yale University. STANLEY M. PARGELLIS.

Le XVIII^e Siècle Breton, autour des États et du Parlement: Correspondances Inédites de MM. de Robien et de la Bellangerais, 1765–1791. Publiées par A. LE MOY, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur d'Histoire au Lycée David d'Angers. (Rennes; Librairie Générale J. Plihon. 1931. Pp. viii, 388. 50 fr.)

TWENTY-THREE years ago, M. Le Moy published his two excellent volumes on *Le Parlement de Bretagne et le Pouvoir Royal au XVIII^e Siècle* and *Les Remontrances du Parlement de Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle*. Since that time, he has published a number of studies and volumes of sources relating to the life of Brittany in the eighteenth century; the present volume is the last of these. It contains the correspondence of two Breton gentlemen, living in Paris, addressed to M. Coniac, living at Rennes. The first group of letters, written by M. de Robien, half-brother of Coniac, covers a period of five years, May, 1765–July, 1770; the second by M. de la Bellangerais, a lifelong friend of Coniac, beginning with 1775, ended in the year of his death, 1791. M. de Robien was a *procureur général syndic* of Brittany and in that capacity resident in Paris at this period. His correspondence deals with the notorious affair between the Duc d'Aiguillon and the parlement of Rennes. Both he and his half-brother were supporters of the duke and their fortunes were involved in the outcome of the struggle. His correspondence contains valuable information concerning what was taking place at Paris and Versailles and, indirectly, by references to the letters of Coniac, to events in Brittany. Unfortunately the letters of Coniac to Robien and to Bellangerais have not been preserved. These letters of the *procureur général syndic* are valuable not simply for the light they throw on the notorious D'Aiguillon affair, but also on account of the insight they afford us of "les moeurs des gens en place", to use an expression of Mirabeau. No secondary narrative can take the place of these *lettres intimes*, full of the flavor of contemporary life and making clear as no other sources could do the profound gulf that separates the political life of France in the eighteenth century from that of the twentieth. Although the letters of Bellangerais contain matter on the affairs of Brittany, they have little in common with those of Robien and approach life from quite a different angle. He held no official position, took no part in politics, but lived in Paris the retired life of an unmarried man of moderate means and a cynical spectator of human affairs. In his youth, he had been a roystering blade, but after sowing his wild oats, he seems to have recovered his balance and showed more consideration for social proprieties, even though he

discovered no deep significance in human existence. Until the end of his days, he remained a good deal of a wag, unable to restrain himself even in the face of death. Writing to Coniac, announcing the death of an acquaintance, he said, "S'il est aussi contrariant en paradis qu'il était ici, il secouera un peu la monotonie de l'éternité". Writing of the death of a relative he said, "Il n'a pas l'extérieur pour lui, mais c'est un homme d'un vrai mérite. Je n'en dirai pas l'éloge, si je ne l'en croya pas digne, car la parenté ne me prend pas à la gorge". He was a good bit older than Coniac, had been hostile to D'Aiguillon and evidently the two men had lost touch for a number of years, yet when the correspondence had once begun, it ripened into a strong friendship. In 1786, he wrote to Coniac, "I have no longer a relative or friend in Rennes. Without you, I should be alone in the world." The correspondence is much to the credit of both men; it reveals a fine side of the French character in the eighteenth century that is lacking in most studies of the period. Unfortunately, M. Le Moy does not give us the complete correspondence of Bellangerais, due to the fact, evidently, that he is chiefly concerned with what the letters contain on Brittany. It would be well worth while to publish *in toto* the letters for the years 1787 to 1791. For 1789, they contain accounts of the famous days of June 20 and 23 and a letter of four pages on the days of October 5 and 6, but M. Le Moy has not reproduced them. Nevertheless, here are two collections of letters no student of the Revolution can afford to miss.

The University of Nebraska. FRED MORROW FLING.

Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre et l'Échec de la Révolution Monarchique, 1757–1792. Par CHARLES DU BUS, de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. xix, 524. 80 frs.)

THERE are all the elements of a great tragedy in the career of Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre. Handsome, generous, and beloved, he took his stand at first beside the reformers, conspicuous among them by his ancestry and eloquence. But the Revolution soon overtook him; and his stout championing of English ideas, which had made for him stanch enemies on the Right, soon appeared to his allies on the Left likewise as treason. The Club Monarchique, whose founder he was in fact if not in name, was despised by the die-hards and persecuted by the radicals. The National Assembly, which had honored him as much as any other leader in the beginning, paid little heed to what he said after the first six months. The constitution it produced found no more severe or intelligent critic than himself, nor was any intrigue to overthrow the new government more dangerous than that which was plotted with his connivance. But again events marched faster than he; and he died a victim of the Tenth of August.

A dramatist seeking to portray the havoc of conflicting loyalties in a

noble soul could hardly have invented a better rôle. Pirandello might have done justice by such a character in search of an author. But M. Du Bus is no Pirandello. To be sure, his all too frequent allusions to the boding future—the armies waiting in the wings, the quarter-century that was to elapse before the ideas of "notre député" were to be appreciated, and similar clichés—make clear that he recognized the drama of his story. There are, however, two essentials of good tragedy which M. Du Bus lacks. These are a sense of form and a decent sympathy for his character.

M. Du Bus's idea of form is exclusively chronological. No matter how obviously two events, separated by a third in time, may hang together in logical sequence, M. Du Bus inserts the third between them. The reader, eager to learn what happened, for example, in the struggle of the Amis de la Constitution Monarchique to survive against popular wrath, is asked to stop at the Manège and listen to Clermont-Tonnerre and others discuss the annexation of Avignon. Sometimes one feels a certain admiration for the rather clever sentences by which the author makes his numerous transitions between events related only in time sequence, but the strain of so many shifts of scene leaves one confused and fatigued.

Holding his subject up to derision is perhaps even a worse offense on the part of a tragic author. The reader can scarcely accept M. Du Bus's supercilious patronage of Clermont-Tonnerre in the first part of this biography and then have his soul properly cleansed in the second part, where the author becomes more respectful and sympathetic toward his subject. If the author were an out-and-out royalist, one might explain this change from scorn to praise by his contempt for the reformer and his admiration for the defender of the monarchy. But the king, along with almost everybody else, is subjected to the author's patronizing condescension.

In other regards, the work is substantial. Research in family archives and numerous public repositories, supplemented by a long bibliography of printed sources and an index careful enough to counterbalance the frequent typographical errors, makes this exhausting study also quite exhaustive.

University of Chicago. LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

Napoleon. By F. M. KIRCHEISEN. Translated by HENRY ST. LAWRENCE. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1932. Pp. xii, 761. $5.00.)

THE German original of this work, *Napoleon I.: ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1927–1929, 2 volumes) is an abridgment of the author's monumental *Napoleon I., sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Munich, Müller, 1911–1931, volumes I.-VII.), of which the volumes for the years after 1808 are in manuscript and undergoing perfection for publication. There is reason for gratitude to the author that he interrupted his main task between the ap-

pearance of the sixth and seventh volumes to present to a larger public a condensation of the results of more than thirty years of collecting and studying materials. This abridgment is the best life of Napoleon between five hundred and a thousand pages in length. The much briefer works, H. A. L. Fisher's *Napoleon* (New York, 1913), and É. Driault's *La Vraie Figure de Napoléon* (Paris, 1928) are gems—perhaps a diamond and a ruby—which belong in a class by themselves. Midway between these two and the present volume in length ranks J. Bainville's *Napoléon* (Paris, 1931) which is now popular in France; but this excellent account will be summarily dismissed by most historians since it is based upon only a limited number of works, mostly secondary.

It is no reflection on Herr Kircheisen to say that his two nearest competitors, Rose and Fournier, outrank him in ability as historical scholars and in the extent of the original contributions which their researches have made to the history of the Napoleonic period, but their lives of Napoleon are now somewhat superannuated. Rose and Fournier did their constructive work in archives, Kircheisen has done his in his own richly stored library; they worked from documents, he from books. Nor is it any aspersion on Herr Kircheisen's volume to say that it lacks the touch of genius that will probably make Fournier's book the most enduring work of the three. It seems to be no secret that virtuous wrath at the popularity of Ludwig's pretentious *Napoleon* (Berlin, 1925) provoked the present author to hasten the publication of this abridgment in order to put a substantial and an honest work into competition with it. This commendable service to the reader deserves more ample reward at the sales counter than a fickle and misguided public is likely to accord.

In clarity, simplicity, and directness of style the translation rivals, if it does not actually surpass, the original. There are excellently chosen illustrations and an index of names, but bibliography and footnotes are wanting. The press work is excellent, but the binder has just missed success.

Herr Kircheisen has held himself strictly to his task of writing a biography rather than a history of the period. Moreover, he has adhered to his purpose of depicting a career, not of analyzing a personality or of retailing the gossipy details of private life. The military, political, administrative, diplomatic, economic, and cultural factors are neither stressed disproportionately nor provokingly slighted. In time, as well, the allotment of space has been judicious. The quarter-way points in the narrative are Brumaire, Jena, and the beginning of the Russian campaign. The treatment is deliberately and insistently unbiased, but fortunately not impersonal. The author does not forget that he is writing the life of a real man who lived and labored with real men and women in a real, not a fictitious or analytical, world. Nor does he allow himself to fall victim to any formula or complex of formulas to symbolize or explain his hero's purposes, utter-

ances, or acts. Indeed, he flatly denies the validity of explaining any one critical circumstance or decision by a single reason or by a definitely limited group of causes and motives. Kircheisen's Europe is not a mere chessboard as Rose's, but as compared with Fournier's, it seems to resemble a formal garden filled with notables at a state function rather than the aggregate of farms, shops, and homes wherein were living, playing, and toiling two hundred million men and women, though even Fournier tends to let the few conceal or replace the mass.

The author believes that Napoleon "will always be looked upon . . . as one of the greatest geniuses that the Spirit of Man has brought into existence", but he does not forget that the emperor was a human being. The Corsican boy who entered Brienne became twenty-five years later Emperor of the French. "How this inner transformation came about remains a mystery." Up to Tilsit Napoleon's career was more or less a resultant of the Revolution, after that date he "followed his own path". The narrative concludes: "Napoleon came and vanished like a meteor. He had destroyed more than he created, but at least he had roused the old Europe from its lethargy, and pointed the way to a future union of the nations." Few readers will lay the volume down with a sense of harmony between the conclusion and the record, between the concerto and its final note.

The excellence of this English version of the abridgment suggests the desirability of a complete translation of Herr Kircheisen's main work which in fullness and excellence of treatment surpasses any biography of the great emperor now in existence. The preparation of an English edition, moreover, would afford the author opportunity to make needed revisions in the earlier volumes.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie. Par J. ALAZARD, E. ALBERTINI, A. BEL, F. BRAUDEL, G. ESQUER, E. F. GAUTIER, DR. E. LEBLANC, G. MARÇAIS, W. MARÇAIS, P. MARTINO, M. MORAND, M. REYGASSE, CH. TAILLIART, G. YVER, J. ZEILLER. Introduction de STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut. [Ouvrage publié par les soins de la *Revue Historique,* Collection du Centenaire de l'Algérie, Archéologie et Histoire, tome IV.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 426. 60 fr.)

THE long list of books in the Centenary Collection proper, together with many others timed by the lapse of a century since the fall of Algiers, have rendered most of the earlier secondary works on North Africa obsolete. If the reviewer had to choose only two volumes for a small historical library, he would add this one to Julien's recent *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVII. 380). Carefully read, they would stop the repeti-

tion of a long string of conventionalized errors of fact and interpretation, too often underwritten by people who should know better. As usual, Professor Gsell's introduction is a gem, guided by a sure hand and cutting cleanly between good work and bad. He begins by the "indiscretion" of revealing that the real editor of the volume is M. Julien, secretary of the *Revue Historique,* who has solicited the various chapters and done just the right amount of work to ensure continuity without damage to the individual contributions. Coöperative scholarship in the highest sense of the term—running through whole lifetimes of eager investigation rather than merely mobilized to make a book—furnishes a real unity, in spite of great diversity of form and tone. Professor Gsell mentions the most outstanding of the pioneer scholars now dead. These chapters are written, almost without exception, by the survivors of this group, or by their pupils or logical successors. Professor Marcel Morand, authority on Moslem law and author of chapter XI. died at Algiers on New Year's Day, 1932. By a strange coincidence, Professor Gsell also died on that day.

E. F. Gautier's many books and articles on the physical structure, human geography, and history of North Africa are admirably summarized in chapter I. The discovery of his which has most impressed the geologists with eyes for the social science implications of their subject—the ancient "Limes Chain", older than the Atlas ranges, which bounded the Roman advance—has somehow failed till now to reach the professional historians. Some of the other chapters, like this one, are of the easy, informative, essay type, with little bibliography. Esquer's final chapter, Les Sources de l'Histoire de l'Algérie, is purely a critical description of materials, especially the great collections, but with due emphasis on bibliographies and periodicals. Albertini's chapter (IV.) on the ancient period, and Zeiller's on North African Christianity (V.) are other examples of largely bibliographical work. The choice of Esquer for the technical general treatment of sources, in which field he is the outstanding authority, has left chapter X., La Conquête et la Colonisation de l'Algérie, to Yver. Colonization is inevitably dealt with very briefly, but the summary of facts and sources concerning the conquest is excellent beyond all criticism.

Without in any way reflecting upon the high quality of the remainder, it may be suggested that the other two chapters of most interest to historians are probably the sixth, by W. Marçais, on a century of research into Mohammedan history in Algeria, and the eleventh, by M. Morand, on the native problem in the light of Moslem law. No student of French colonial history, especially in North Africa, can afford to miss this well-knit volume of studies by experts.

The University of California. M. M. Knight.

Monsieur Thiers. By JOHN M. S. ALLISON, Professor of History, Yale University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1932. Pp. 294. $3.00.)

MR. ALLISON supplies a real need in his readable biography of Thiers. Though he has been limited both in the length of the work and in his citation of page-and-line evidence by the conditions of the series to which it belongs, the general reader will not complain, and the scholar will recognize the unostentatious industry behind the sketch that is offered him. There is little attempt to portray the lineaments and characters of the almost countless figures that pass across the stage. The main character himself, though displayed in all his enthusiastic activity as historian, art connoisseur, scientific amateur, military student, and politician, is not perhaps so clearly and incisively designed as one might hope. But everything is not to be asked of an author, and, for what it is—a clear and sound narrative of French politics from the accession of Charles X. to Thiers's resignation from the presidency in 1873—the book is to be heartily welcomed. Only one serious error of fact attracted the present reviewer's attention, and that a curious one. Some Legitimist leaders are said (p. 191) to have made a pilgrimage in 1850 to Charles X. in exile at Wiesbaden. Charles X. died in 1836 and, of course, his grandson, the Comte de Chambord, is meant. Occasionally there is a certain fogginess in the narrative. One finishes the story of the wrangles over the Roman expedition of 1849, the Falloux law concerning public education, and the electoral law of 1850 in some uncertainty as to what Thiers's policy was, how far he and his coterie had been successful in their intrigues, and just what had taken place. In general, however, Mr. Allison's narrative has both clarity and movement and on occasion rises to real dramatic power, as, for instance, his story of the last days of the July Monarchy or Thiers's splendid service to his country as the Franco-Prussian War was closing and during the negotiations for peace.

The earlier half of the book is made up of selections, somewhat revised, of Mr. Allison's *Thiers and the French Monarchy, 1797–1848,* published in 1926. The latter part, carrying the story to Thiers's death in 1877, is new. The government archives of Paris and London have been drawn on for material, as have sources which are to be found more particularly in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Thiers in Paris. Among secondary works, the writings of La Gorce are regarded by Mr. Allison as "far superior" to any others dealing with his period.

One wishes that Mr. Allison had found space for a few pages on the movement of nineteenth century thought in France. A radical in the eighteen twenties, Thiers found himself almost a conservative in the eighteen seventies. He had not changed his opinions fundamentally, but the majority of Frenchmen had. Only a few pages of explanation would have

shown where Thiers stood in the development of public opinion during fifty years. Nevertheless, thanks to this interesting life, we feel closer to possibly the most typical Frenchman of his century.

Princeton University. HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

I Fratelli Ruffini: Lettere di Giovanni e Agostino Ruffini alla Madre dall' Esilio Francese e Svizzero. Con Introduzione e Note [di] ARTURO CODIGNOLA. Parte I.—Parte II., 1833–1836. (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria. 1925–1931. Pp. cxxii, 460; cxxix, 333.)

Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi Tempi: Studi e Ricerche. Comitato per le Onoranze a Giovanni Ruffini. (Genoa: Società Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento. 1931. Pp. 611. 50 l.)

Two families of patriots were outstanding in the revolutionary movements of modern Italy, that of the Ruffini, of which three brothers were close friends and collaborators of Mazzini in conspiracy, and that of the Cairoli, which gave five heroes to the expeditions of Garibaldi. In each family a patriotic mother inspired her sons, Eleanora Ruffini and Adelaide Cairoli. Professor Michele Rosi, of the University of Rome, a quarter of a century ago placed the Cairoli family securely in its niche of history by his scholarly work, *I Cairoli,* based largely upon unpublished family papers. The Ruffini brothers and their mother have had to wait longer for detailed historical treatment, but of late they have been receiving it in abundance.

In 1925, Professor Arturo Codignola began the publication of letters written by Giovanni and Agostino Ruffini to their mother. The first volume, entitled *I Fratelli Ruffini,* covered the years from 1833 to 1835; the second volume, recently issued, consists entirely of letters of 1836. How many volumes are to follow has not been stated. For the general historian these two contain so much that is of purely family interest as to be cumbersome. A selection of letters covering a longer period would have been more useful. But if Codignola speeds up and carries the work to completion with letters from 1837 to 1856, a monumental publication will have been made. For those interested in the biographies of the Ruffini brothers, and for Mazzini students, the volumes already printed are invaluable. Both brothers lived in Switzerland in difficult years with Mazzini, Giovanni being with him longer than Agostino. The letters, which are in French and have been edited with few notes but with great care from the originals preserved in the Museo del Risorgimento in Genoa, throw much light upon the life and psychology of the Italian exiles, whose sacrifices played so important a part in preparing Italy's reawakening. Parts of some of the letters had been previously printed, but in an Italian translation and often incorrectly, by Carlo Cagnacci in his *G. Mazzini ed i Fratelli Ruffini: Lettere Raccolte.*

Codignola has published as an introduction to the first volume an excel-

lent study of the life and conspiracies of Mazzini, and of Giovanni and Giacomo Ruffini and their group prior to 1834, and as an introduction to the second volume a long essay, Mazzini alla Ricerca di una Fede ed il Dramma dei Ruffini. This last essay is a good, but unnecessarily prolix, study of the religious crisis in Mazzini's life and deals little with the Ruffini brothers; in the last section of the essay, also prolix, Codignola gives as the cause of the brothers' separation from Mazzini in 1837, not the generally accepted divergence of religious views, but a vaguely defined offense committed by Mazzini against Eleanora Ruffini in 1833 just after the death of her son Giacomo. The reasoning is not entirely convincing. If Codignola could give his conclusions in clear, synthetic form his historical work would gain immensely in force and value. The two volumes have been published as the second and third of the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Serie del Risorgimento).

The volume, *Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi Tempi,* is an important commemorative publication, prepared in honor of Ruffini's memory and consisting of ten miscellaneous essays by nine different writers. Several of the essays are minutely biographical and hence of restricted interest, but Vito Vitale's study of Ruffini's one year diplomatic career as Piedmontese minister to Paris in 1849 is valuable for the student of European events. It has been written with sound judgment and impartiality and based largely upon unpublished dispatches in the royal state archives of Turin. By temperament and by training the minister was unfitted for diplomacy, and he was not personally sorry to leave the service, which he had entered for love of his country. As he wrote to his mother, "love of Italy is a disease which fatally condemns to suffering whoever is stricken with it".

Another important essay is that by Alfredo Obertello upon the literary work of Ruffini in England, where the patriot was long resident and where he performed an important service for his country by enabling the English, through his novels, to become acquainted with the new moral, social, and political life to which Italy had recently been born. A third essay, by Evelina Rinaldi, which, though having nothing to do with Ruffini, is included in the volume, gives a valuable sketch of G. B. Cuneo, one of Mazzini's first disciples and an intimate friend of Garibaldi in the latter's early days in South America. Little has been printed heretofore about Cuneo, and the unpublished letters written by him between 1849 and 1860, included in this study, furnish valuable details of his life. With one exception the writers of the volume have had large recourse to unpublished documents.

Rome. H. Nelson Gay.

War and Diplomacy in the French Republic: an Inquiry into Political Motivations and the Control of Foreign Policy. By Frederick L.

SCHUMAN, Ph. D., Department of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931. Pp. xvii, 452. $4.00.)

THE experimental method has long been a customary mode of procedure in the exact sciences, but in the social sciences, except perhaps in psychology, it has been very rarely employed. In history particularly such a mode of approach offers almost insurmountable obstacles. Nevertheless, in this excellent study of French diplomacy Professor Schuman proves that most admirable results may be achieved by such a method of attack.

He has chosen a series of significant diplomatic events following a certain sequence which have affected materially the international position of France. Grouping them under the three general headings: acquisitions or losses of territory, alliances and peace treaties, and wars and coercive measures, he has subjected them to the penetrating analysis of the laboratory technician. To make his evaluation of the problems the more reliable, he has preceded it by a careful study of the diplomatic tools and machinery. He concludes with a synthesis entitled The Dynamics of Foreign Policy, which correlates the agencies and procedure with the problems considered.

Although the historian will undoubtedly be more interested in the diplomatic problems studied than in the description and analysis of diplomatic mechanisms and procedure, nevertheless, these sections of the book are most essential, and the clarity and brevity of treatment enhance their value. The chapters devoted to the making of treaties and the initiation of war are particularly recommended.

In considering the question of territorial acquisitions, Dr. Schuman has taken Tunis, Tonkin, and Madagascar as illustrative of the way in which the French empire was created. The writer has stripped bare the imperial trappings to get at the skeleton beneath. All run true to form—a beautiful façade on a hideous charnel house. "At a cost of millions of francs and thousands of lives, French honor and diplomatic prestige were preserved. French merchants and investors were given a new privileged field of operations and a new gem was added to the crown of the French colonial empire."

As examples of alliances and peace treaties, the Dual Alliance and the Entente Cordiale are analyzed. Both of these subjects are well-written monographs in miniature. Without sacrificing historical accuracy, Dr. Schuman has painted a vivid picture of the underlying influences of prestige and balance of power diplomacy.

The author concludes his objective treatment of events with the World War and its aftermath. He has had the advantage of having at his disposition the vast amount of coördinated material on the causes of war which has been made available by Fay, Schmitt, and Renouvin, and thus has been

able to place his emphasis upon the salient underlying factors. The diplomatic service is pilloried as it vainly attempts to brake the juggernaut of war which its own machinations had started on its mad journey.

The writer concludes that "the State is an embodiment of power and in its political relations with other states power considerations are necessarily foremost and controlling". He is to be congratulated upon his original conception and the brilliant fashion in which he has carried it out. As the French themselves would say, "It gives one to think".

Stanford University. GRAHAM H. STUART.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Série I (1871–1900), tome III., *Janvier, 1880-Mai, 1881.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1931. Pp. xxvi, 538. 60 fr.)

THIS volume continues the period of cautious participation by France in the troublesome boundary questions inherited from the Congress of Berlin, and it introduces an active colonial expansion. Freycinet yielded readily to England's lead in the Greco-Turkish boundary negotiations which his predecessor, Waddington, had initiated (no. 24). France reluctantly participated in the naval demonstration before Dulcigno, but she intended to withdraw her ships if force were used to secure the cession of that port to Montenegro (nos. 250, 261). A firmer spirit appeared in colonial enterprises. The balance between French and English influence in Egypt was carefully watched (no. 17); plans were made for the eventual acquisition of Tonkin (224). More of these documents naturally concern the Tunis affair than any other topic, and the volume ends with the bey's acceptance, under military pressure, of the Treaty of Bardo. While Bismarck's attitude, and the influence of Italy's intrigues in hastening French action are well known, the effect of the political situation in France in delaying Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's final decision (nos. 396, 401), the impatience of Saint-Vallier in Berlin (nos. 345, 406, 349) and, eventually, of Noailles in Rome (no. 286) at this apparent weakness are revealed here. A clearer view is now possible of the diplomatic complications of this affair, and especially of England's attitude. In spite of Salisbury's somewhat reserved recognition of France's claims during the Congress of Berlin, Granville's approval of the theory that Tunis was legally a part of the Ottoman empire apparently encouraged Italy's and Turkey's resistance (no. 375). Quite new is Bismarck's account of Lord Dufferin's proposal of a European intervention (no. 495) which, though denied by Granville, was given some credit by the French (no. 526).

That Tunis became a French protectorate without a serious European crisis was largely due, not only to Bismarck's friendly assurances but also

to his advice to Italy (nos. 158, 294, 307), Turkey (no. 513), and England (no. 495). His support was useful at the Morocco Conference of Madrid (no. 189), in Near Eastern questions (no. 164)—where he said, it was second only to his coöperation with Austria-Hungary (no. 30)—and in Tonkin (no. 196). It assured the safety of France's position in Europe during this early phase of her colonial expansion, and it was acknowledged by French ministers (nos. 203, 215, 492) and by the president of France (no. 521). Only Chanzy, in St. Petersburg, objected, although Bismarck, with characteristic frankness, admitted his desire to divert France's attention from Alsace-Lorraine (nos. 294, 307). Nevertheless, this conciliatory policy did not prevent his use of the *revanche* in the German press to win support for the military law of 1880 (no. 31). Relations with Russia were much less cordial. The Hartmann affair, the evasion of Russia's suggestion of a European conference on the revolutionary movement caused irritation which was increased by France's limited support of Montenegro's claims (no. 272). Bismarck assured Saint-Vallier that he desired good relations, not only between England and France but also between France and Italy, but it was natural if not inevitable, that France's colonial enterprises, which he encouraged, produced coolness in the first and increasing friction in the second instance.

Duke University. E. Malcolm Carroll.

Lord Rosebery. By the Marquess of Crewe, K.G. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. xv, 592. $5.00.)

Lord Rosebery's son-in-law has made an excellent contribution to scholarship in this biography. His book possesses dignity, charm, and sympathy —no mean accomplishment in view of the enigmatic character of Mr. Gladstone's successor as leader of the Liberal party.

Archibald Primrose, Lord Dalmeny, Earl of Rosebery, gifted, wealthy, honorable, and handsome, made a sorry mess of his political career. Although he spent a long life in politics he accomplished practically nothing. Placed at the head of his party, he could in nowise control it. Prime minister of England, he had little influence in his own cabinet. The only positive reform with which his name has been connected, the reorganization of the House of Lords, still remains a paper project, all but forgotten in the hurly-burly of contemporary politics. Even as a Tory premier Rosebery could scarcely have succeeded; but as a Liberal prime minister and as Gladstone's heir he was a ghastly failure.

And yet, despite all this, there is something extraordinarily attractive about this curious Hamlet-like aristocrat who could neither endure political life nor escape it. It was not his fault that he became a politician. He declined office time and time again, but Gladstone was determined to place

the yoke upon his shoulders. Finally he yielded, gracefully, for he did everything gracefully. But he was never a real Liberal, although his American travels, his fresh boyish spirit, and his Scottish antecedents sometimes gave him the semblance of one. Rosebery was simply a Whig who reached maturity too late. By 1886 almost all surviving Whigs found themselves in the Tory or Unionist ranks. Rosebery should have gone with them. Had he possessed either the strength of character or the strength of will which characterized Argyll or Hartington he would have cut loose from Gladstone at that date or before.

But Rosebery was young and loyal, and also pampered. Gladstone praised him highly; so did his sovereign. He was a marked and shining light in a House of Lords where Liberals were few. Gladstone's mantle might some day be his. That he deliberately schemed to inherit it is improbable, but that the vision thereof floated from time to time before him would only have been natural.

The Midlothian campaign was the starting point in his career. The young nobleman, only thirty-three years old, was Gladstone's host and sponsor in the Scottish constituency, and between him and the Liberal champion there developed a warm friendship. Mrs. Gladstone might have been shocked by Rosebery's devotion to the turf but her husband was too much a man of the world to be troubled by race horses. So Gladstone offered his lordship the undersecretaryship for India. Twice Rosebery declined this post. The undersecretaryship for the home department was then pressed upon him and reluctantly accepted. During the hectic years 1883 and 1884 he spent more time in foreign travel than in politics. Finally, at the very end of Gladstone's second ministry, he was persuaded against his inclination to enter the cabinet as privy seal and commissioner of public works.

During the brief third ministry Rosebery went to the foreign office, a post which he also assumed under Gladstone, 1893–1894. In charge of British foreign policy he was if anything more imperialistic and aggressive than Salisbury. He had no interest in Home Rule or the Newcastle program. He was not entitled to the premiership in 1894 either on the score of ability or of party service. But Queen Victoria insisted upon summoning him, and since he was personally unobjectionable to a majority of the Liberals he became prime minister.

The Rosebery ministry of 1894–1895 was one of the least glorious in British annals. The prime minister won the Derby and the chancellor of the exchequer put through the death duties. Torn then by internal dissensions and under a leader who could not lead the Liberals were thrown from office.

At the time of his defeat in 1895 Rosebery was only forty-nine and a

long life lay before him. He spent it largely in dignified leisure, on his yacht, at his Italian villa, occasionally dipping into literature, and now and again making a public speech. With the passing of Harcourt and the semi-retirement of Morley new leaders, antipathetic to Rosebery, rallied the waning fortunes of the Liberals. From 1906 to the time of his death in 1929, free trade was the only thing which bound him to his old party allegiance.

"It would be untrue to call it a very happy life . . .", so writes his biographer. Perhaps it would have been happier had Rosebery followed his natural bent and kept out of politics altogether. He had no liking for the rough and tumble of debate. His principal interests were in horses, in literature, and in society, the gay world in which his wealth, his debonair manner, and ready speech entitled him to shine. As a Liberal statesman he was an utter misfit and he knew it. Queen Victoria and Gladstone between them made this weak man assume responsibilities which he did not want to carry. His career would have been more disastrous had it not been for the strength of the aristocratic tradition in England, and for a certain fineness of spirit and innate dignity which happily were germane to his character.

Princeton University. WALTER PHELPS HALL.

Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs. Par RAYMOND POINCARÉ, de l'Académie Française. Tome VIII., *Verdun, 1916.* (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. 355. 30 fr.)

M. POINCARÉ's eighth volume covers the days from January 1 to September 13, 1916. It was the tragic period of the life-and-death struggle for the city which is the key to the road to Paris. The president records many vivid visits to the front to confer with Joffre, to see the actual situation with his own eyes, and to encourage the officers and men by his presence. One feels the strain of the incredible variety of tasks with which he was called upon to deal. Evidently depending upon a very full diary, he often records a score of different interviews on a single day with generals, deputies, cabinet ministers, bereaved widows and parents, newspaper correspondents, foreign princes and what not, whom he had to receive, cajole, comfort, argue with, or otherwise attempt to satisfy. This gives the present volume a more haphazard and disjointed character than the earlier ones. But it also makes a more pleasing and sympathetic impression. There is less denunciation of Germany, less self-justification, and there are fewer long quotations from his own speeches.

Aside from Verdun, one of the great questions most frequently discussed was the campaign in the Near East: the non-coöperative attitude of Greece, Sarrail's requests for reënforcements which Joffre did not want to spare from France, and the salvaging of the remnants of the Serbian army.

The press attacks of Clemenceau and other editors upon the military administration in Paris and at the front, which were reprinted and exploited in the German press, often resulted in blank spaces in the papers where the censor deleted objectionable matter. Temporary suspension of publication was also frequently imposed as a penalty for indiscretion or perverse criticism. The mysterious activities of Humbert, Bolo Pacha, and the *Bonnet Rouge* were beginning to disquiet the president, but as yet there was no tangible evidence against them. Defeatism, which was to become so serious the following year, was also beginning to make its appearance. It was indicated by sporadic mutinies of small groups and by the alarmingly large number of soldiers who allowed themselves to be taken prisoner by the enemy. To counteract it Poincaré recommended more fraternization between officers and men, and more talks explaining the significance of the war.

Most interesting perhaps are the president's characterizations of his colleagues. M. Briand is pictured a dozen times smoking innumerable cigarettes, running his fingers through his long hair, apparently dreaming and inattentive at cabinet meetings, and often leaving them suddenly in the midst of a discussion for a quarter of an hour's gossip and more cigarettes with Sainsère in a neighboring room—habits which appear to have gotten a little on the nerves of the very practical and businesslike president. As an example of these personal characterizations may be cited his notes regarding those present at a meeting of the council of national defense on March 25: "Freycinet (très lucide, très actif), Ribot (un peu morose), Briand, Bourgeois, Doumergue (optimistes), Joffre (lourd et lent), Castelnau (rongeant son frein), Roques (attentif et prudent), Lacaze (très éveillé et très clairvoyant), Painlevé (ardent et tranchant), Thierry (attentif)."

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Costs of the World War to the American People. By JOHN MAURICE CLARK. [Economic and Social History of the World War, American Series, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 316. $3.50.)

Le Bilan de la Guerre pour la France. Par CHARLES GIDE, Professeur Honoraire à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Professeur Honoraire au Collège de France, and WILLIAM OUALID, Professeur d'Économie Politique à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, ancien Sous-Chef de Cabinet du Ministre de l'Armement. [Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Guerre Mondiale, Série Française. James T. Shotwell, Directeur.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 370. 52 fr.)

BOTH of these volumes are written by distinguished economists who have

not stinted labor in their task. Each represents painstaking statistical and social analysis, which if sometimes refined to a point where the reader rather craves dogmatic assertion in place of meticulously weighed probabilities, illustrates only the better for that reason the baffling complexity of the problem which the authors try to solve. One may be momentarily tempted to lay down either book with the question: why lavish so much scientific guessing upon so uncertain a result? But the reader resumes it with the reflection that the exploration of the subject is after all its own reward, and that problematical judgments are frequently the only protection against false judgments.

War costs cannot be appraised in dollars and cents. Nor, if that were possible, is the date when we can strike a final balance of their amount determined. Should we charge any part of the social and economic waste of 1930 and 1931 to the international profligacy of 1917 and 1918? Even a tentative enumeration of the assumed items of these costs lacks sufficient plausibility to be more than mildly interesting. Professors Gide and Oualid can make a better inventory of physical damages than Professor Clark because France was the scene of much property destruction which has been listed for reparations, and there are other measurable quantities in her war bill which are less easily estimated in the case of the United States. But even in France's reckoning a wide margin of ponderable items remains which cannot be measured convincingly. For example, losses and gains through vocational, industrial, currency, and fiscal readjustments might theoretically be expressed in monetary terms but actually can be only vaguely approximated. We lose ourselves in a still more tangled maze of conjecture when we try to give concrete values to losses by death and invalidism and what might be called functional disturbances in the social organism.

Therefore, the person who seeks facts of precise dimensions regarding war costs will still have to go to politicians and popular magazines for his materials. Except in respect to fiscal charges he will find few hard and fast totals in these pages. Nevertheless, the books leave an impression of the consequences, rather than the costs, of the war that is well worth having, even at the expense of considerable concentrated attention. Fully one-half of each volume is devoted to a study of the effect of the war and its aftermath upon broad economic categories, such as agriculture, manufacturing, and trade. Moreover, not all war losses are physical, and each author bestows attention upon the moral balance of hostilities, including crime and population displacement, though with due diffidence in drawing positive conclusions.

No equally able and comprehensive studies have been made before of the aggregate damage done by war. These two books promise to have continuing interest.

The Library of Congress. VICTOR S. CLARK.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century. By HELEN J. CRUMP, M. A., Ph.D., Assistant Lecturer, University College, Nottingham. [Published for the Royal Empire Society.] (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. x, 200. 7s. 6d.)

MISS CRUMP has written an excellent treatise on a difficult and elusive subject, the materials for which are widely scattered and far from easy to understand. Though she has been obliged to depend on printed sources for the greater part of her evidence, she has missed thereby very little of importance, for neither in this country nor in the West Indies is there much remaining unprinted of value for her purpose. On the other hand, residence in England has enabled her to use, often with impressive effect, the documents she has found in the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the Public Record Office—particularly those of the High Court of Admiralty—all of which she has woven very skillfully into her general scheme. Should she in her study pass on to the eighteenth century, she will be confronted with a very different situation, for though the manuscript admiralty proceedings over here are relatively simple and easy to interpret, they are very voluminous and geographically widely dispersed.

Miss Crump's theme is the rise of admiralty jurisdiction in the English colonies in America from its earliest manifestations in the days of Mason, Whitbourne, West, and Argall down to the establishment of a system of organized and permanent courts of vice-admiralty after 1697. The work opens with a chapter on the High Court and the provincial vice-admiralty courts in England, which is satisfactory as far as it goes, but would have been made more useful had it been expanded to show the struggles of the chief court to increase and strengthen its jurisdiction and of the local courts to avoid that tendency toward disuse and decay which led Sir Charles Hedges in 1690 to write his *Reasons for Settling Admiralty Jurisdiction,* an argument for their revival. The early "admirals" in America, whose duties were rather executive than judicial, pass in and out of Miss Crump's picture in shadowy fashion, leaving hardly a trace behind and in no way becoming starting points for admiralty development later. The beginnings of colonial maritime jurisdiction, as Miss Crump clearly shows, are to be found in a variety of conditions attending early colonial life—fishing in Newfoundland, commerce and trade in Virginia, Maryland, and New England, wrecks in Bermuda, and privateering and piracy in the West Indies. Such judicial business as needed to be done was taken care of by existing executive and legislative bodies or by the ordinary common law courts in the colonies. There were no admiralty courts functioning during the first half of the

seventeenth century. In the chapters dealing with this period Miss Crump has brought out little that has not been known before.

Far and away the most important part of her book is that which concerns, after 1652 and especially after 1660, the setting up of vice-admiralty courts in certain of the West India islands. She traces the first steps to the Ayscue expedition of 1652, the capture of Jamaica in 1655, and especially to the appointment of the Duke of York in 1661 as lord high admiral over the colonies, with power to erect courts and appoint deputies. From this time on the story presents many difficulties. Though Miss Crump has told it with commendable skill and has added much to our knowledge of its details, she has raised almost as many questions as she has answered. She frequently refers to the great work of organization which the duke accomplished, but leaves us without any very clear idea of what that organization was or what share the duke had in it. Though she refers to the new courts, erected under the governors' vice-admiralty commissions, as needed to enforce the trade laws of the empire, and devotes a whole chapter to the subject, she still leaves the reader with a somewhat confused impression of the part played by the vice-admiralty courts, the extent of their jurisdiction, and the source of their authority. She lays her chief stress upon the courts in their relation to prizes, but only once does she hint that probably they had no legal right to try prizes, even though they did so with impunity. Had they a right also to try offenses against the navigation acts, though there is no doubt that they did so frequently? We need information on both these points. The vice-admiralty commissions to the governors say nothing either of illegal trade or of prizes, limiting the governors' admiralty jurisdiction to marine causes only. I can but wish that Miss Crump had spent less time on the details of prize captures and more on other phases of the courts' activities, and had laid more stress on the institutional features of admiralty organization. It may be that evidence is wanting; such evidence is found only to a small extent in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* upon which she largely depends.

The last chapter of interest to us here—there is a final chapter on the admiralty courts under the East India Company—is less authoritative than the others, for treating as it does of the colonial admiralty and English administration it looks forward into the eighteenth century, a period with which Miss Crump does not appear to be familiar. Else she would not have implied that the "only way of getting redress from the sentence of a colonial admiralty court was by petition to the king in Council" and that "after 1691 the English court did not claim the right to hear appeals from the colonial courts", neither of which statements is correct for the eighteenth century. Had she studied the proceedings of the vice-admiralty courts down to the time of the Revolution she would not have committed herself to so

emphatic a denunciation of them as is contained on page 164, or have spoken of them as "hated", "detested", and "despised" by the colonists as the "weapon of a tyrannical government". Such might have been true of Massachusetts after 1750, but it was not true anywhere else. Miss Crump must not believe all that she finds stated in the Declaration of Independence, or even in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Miss Crump's handling of the many very difficult problems that confronted her is always suggestive and the new information she has furnished is a witness to her perseverance and enthusiasm. I am the more sorry, therefore, that she has fallen into a number of minor slips in dates, titles, places, and names. The oddest of these are "I Cooks" (repeated in the index) for Sir John Cooke and Lieutenant Governor Usher "of Newcastle" (not in the index at all), a place derived from the *Calendar* that is correct enough but unnecessarily obscure. I wonder what the Pilgrims would have thought of Captain John Mason as the "deputy-governor of New Plymouth" (a strange blunder of the *D. N. B.*) or of the shoals of Cape Cod as lying "between Boston and Plymouth"; what the Marylanders of the Eastern Shore would have thought had they known that the usual way of getting to the other side of the Chesapeake was "by boat across the Susquehanna"; or what the members of the Bermuda Company would have said had they been told that the "Company of Virginia" owned their rights of admiralty. But after all, these are small peccadillos that will mislead only the uninformed and the unwary.

Yale University. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Province and Court Records of Maine. Edited by CHARLES THORNTON LIBBY. Volume II., *1653–1679*. (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1931. Pp. xlvii, 559. $10.00.)

THE second volume of Mr. Libby's edition of the early records of Maine contains the proceedings of the courts of York County, which were set up by Massachusetts after her annexation of the province of Maine in 1652 and 1653. These courts were two: the county court proper, meeting once a year, generally in July, established in 1653 and lasting with only one break (1664–1668) until 1679, when Charles II. took the government of the province out of the hands of the Commonwealth; and the court of associates, 1658 to 1679, which sat twice yearly, in spring and fall, during the intervals between the sessions of the county court. It had a similar civil and criminal jurisdiction with the county court, but was without a trial jury and received no presentments from the grand jury as did the other. It frequently remanded or bound over cases to be heard at the county court and allowed appeal to the same, just as appeal was allowed from the county court to the court of assistants at Boston. Below both courts were the

"commissioners for small causes", locally elected town courts with a jurisdiction limited to matters of forty shillings and under.

The cases that came before the two county courts were pretty much the same and give an amazingly vivid and realistic picture of the life of a rough, unconventional, pioneer folk in the wilderness, engaged in farming, lumbering, and fishing, and given to hard drinking, profanity, breaches of the Sabbath and to days of humiliation and thanksgiving, and the slighting of public authority. The frequent appearance of the last-named offense is not surprising in view of the strong opposition that existed in this Anglican and pro-Gorgean region to the continuance of Massachusetts control. There were many Quakers in the territory, who were treated much less harshly than in Massachusetts, though efforts were made to discriminate against them, in the hope that without places to sleep and to eat and without right to hold public office they would go elsewhere of their own accord. The presence of a few Dutch, French, Greeks, Portuguese, and negroes is also recorded. Punishments of delinquents generally took the form of fines and whipping at the post by the jailer, though one "lady" for striking her husband had to stand with a gag in her mouth for half an hour at a public meeting and to have "the cause of her offence writt upon her forehead", and a certain James Warrine, once disciplined for saying "Divill-a-bit", was sentenced for insolence to be "tyd Necke & Heeles" for an hour or "ride the wooden horse" on training day. Actions were for immorality, debt, trespass, breach of contract or covenant, slander, assault, and so on through a long list of indictable offenses characteristic of Puritan rule. The courts kept a constant watch over morals and conduct, over the relations of husbands and wives, over all consorting with "the common enemy the Devill", and over those charged with "liveing an Idle Lasy life". The one case of witchcraft was dismissed as unproven.

Mr. Libby's editing is in every way admirable, though he is more interested in the documents and their orthographic peculiarities than he is in their contents. The spelling, particularly that of Peter Weare (1668–1670), is extraordinary—as, for example, "Ferridg to Continnew duaring the Courts plesseuar", which may be merely a survival of Weare's Gloucestershire dialect. One is prepared for an almost complete absence of references to books in the wills and inventories and to schools and education in the entries themselves, for though the standard of literacy among the leaders was undoubtedly high, that among the mass of the people was what one would expect. The two volumes already issued, containing almost the only county court records in print for colonial times, are a contribution unequaled for the light they throw on local life and custom. Mr. Libby and the Maine Historical Society are to be congratulated on their publication.

Yale University. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Norfolk, Historic Southern Port. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1931. Pp. ix, 378. $4.00.)

THIS is a story "full of ships 'n things, masts, an' sails, an' jib-booms, an' ship ahoy", and an engaging account it proves to be. Written by contract with the city government, the book stresses the first two centuries of Norfolk's history, with a sketchy, not inadequate, survey of her development since 1871. While the resident of Norfolk may complain that many an interesting incident and character are not even mentioned, he must recognize that in Professor Wertenbaker's narrative there is perspective and critical interpretation scarcely attempted in any previous history of the city.

Subscribing to the dictum that "national history is founded on local history" (p. vii), the author uses his emphasis upon economic and social factors to good advantage in portraying Norfolk's significance to the growth of Virginia and North Carolina, and her part in the fluctuating trade with the West Indies, Europe, and the American coast. Destroyed at the outbreak of the American Revolution, crippled by commercial restrictions afterward incident, in part, to the War of 1812, weakened by the scourge of yellow fever, and oppressed by military rule during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, in each case the city's come-back has attested to her fundamental worth in the expanding commerce of the country. As Norfolk's merchants were opposed to the outbreak of the American Revolution (p. 56), thus bearing out Professor Schlesinger's thesis on the colonial merchants, so they objected to the War of 1812 (p. 120); and Professor Wertenbaker's lively account of concrete incidents of evasions of the law, clashes between civilian and sailor, and cryptic comments of the press, are illuminating for national as well as for local history. He reveals forcibly that Norfolk's population of merchants, artisans, and mariners represented an economic interest with which the majority of Virginians found little in common. The unfortunate sectional rivalry between Norfolk and the fall-line towns over internal improvements so hampered her growth during the ante bellum period that she was unable to regain any early advantage she had enjoyed in competing with New York and other Northern ports. These sectional cross-currents, thrown in high relief by an intensive study of local history, are unquestionably worthy of further research.

The author's use of sources hitherto untouched has greatly enriched his account of the social and intellectual as well as economic life of Norfolk. Detailed examination of the early minute books of the county and city courts, the papers of the Scotch merchant, Niel Jamieson, the city press, and the obvious printed sources, has yielded a wealth of material, woven together, for the most part, very effectively. Although it would be impossible to utilize all available manuscript material, it is to be regretted that some varied details were not sought for in such sources as the minute books of

Christ Episcopal Church or the First Presbyterian Church, the oldest Masonic Lodge, and in the fragmentary records of the United States District Court. While the cultural advantages which Norfolk offered from time to time bespoke her economic development, the interest of the reader would have been held more continuously by dwelling somewhat upon the personalities who helped to lay the foundations for that culture. The proofreading has failed to correct some glaring typographical errors. These shortcomings, however, are quite inconsequential. Professor Wertenbaker has shown the annalist that local history can be made something more than a dull recital of chronological events and personal eulogies, if only the annalist would take the lesson to heart.

University of Virginia. LESTER J. CAPPON.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume V., January 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1931. Pp. lxiv, 611. Unbound $5.00; bound $5.50.)

THE present volume of this indispensable series brings us to the regularizing of the Continental Congress through the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. The general tone of the letters is not inspiriting. From the army came news of the disasters at Charleston and Camden and of the generally unhappy situation in the lower South; of dissatisfaction among the officers; of Arnold's treason, and mutinous conduct among the Connecticut and Pennsylvania troops. Even the arrival of Rochambeau's troops left doubts as to the possibility of effective American coöperation. Continuous discussion of the currency, of reform in the services of supply, and means of enlisting adequate support from the states, seemed to bring slight results. Though factious opposition to Washington had diminished, civilian jealousy of the army leaders still made trouble. It is possible, however, to overemphasize this picture of Congressional futilities. There were, after all, delegates who were thinking straight and getting results. In the letters of Duane and Schuyler, of Madison and Joseph Jones, one may see gradual progress with the troublesome Western land question. The way was thus prepared for the New York cession; for the Congressional resolves of 1780, which laid the foundations of future policy in relation to the national domain and the formation of new commonwealths; and for the Virginia cession of 1781, the latter not wholly acceptable but offering reasonable assurance of an ultimate solution. The resulting ratification of the Confederation by Maryland seemed to Duane a more important achievement than "a Victory over all our Enemies"; we had thus "become a Nation" (pp. 551–553, 584). To this period also belong the votes which authorized responsible executives for the departments of foreign affairs, war, and finance.

Though this volume, like its predecessors, shows indefatigable and skillful assembling of material from widely scattered sources, the greater part of it not previously printed, the list of correspondents presents few distinguished names. If we exclude communications from the president and secretary, from state delegations, and from Congressional boards and committees, there remain something over four hundred individual letters. Six delegates contribute in all about a third of this number. Among these six there is one first-rate personage, "young Madison", who took his seat in March, 1780; next in present reputation is Philip Schuyler; but the others would hardly be recognized to-day except by special students of the period. The "elder statesmen" of the revolutionary movement, Samuel Adams and Roger Sherman, are represented only by a few comparatively unimportant letters. Somewhat more numerous are those of Elbridge Gerry, Robert R. Livingston, and Oliver Ellsworth. There are, as before, varying degrees of literacy and illiteracy (for the latter, see the letters of Nathaniel Folsom and John Collins). The collection as a whole presents a realistic picture of the psychology of a war-time legislature, struggling with extraordinary difficulties and somehow "muddling through". In addition to the letters of individuals, special mention should be made of the collection of documents representing the work of the "Committee at Headquarters", an interesting, though short-lived, experiment in the coördination of military and Congressional direction.

Little need be added here to what has already been adequately said in this journal, by Professor Van Tyne, about the admirable quality of Dr. Burnett's editorial service. It is sufficient to say that the present volume sustains the high standard set by its predecessors.

Columbia University. EVARTS B. GREENE.

Lambert Wickes, Sea Raider and Diplomat: the Story of a Naval Captain of the Revolution. By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xviii, 466. $5.00.)

IN writing this biography of Captain Wickes of the navy of the Revolution, Mr. Clark has rendered a service not only to the memory of Wickes but to the naval and diplomatic history of the year following the Declaration of Independence. Much that is new has been brought to light concerning the movements of American representatives in France, and concerning the work of British spies assigned to watch the movements of Franklin and his subordinates. Captain Lambert Wickes was no mean figure. He did his duty nobly from the time of his appointment until he went down at sea with his beloved *Reprisal* in October, 1777, and deserves to have his memory perpetuated. He was the first naval officer to carry the American flag to Europe, and the first to command an American warship or squadron in European seas. To him belongs the honor, too, of being the

first to challenge the naval forces of England in the English Channel itself.

The eight page bibliography shows that Mr. Clark has made a diligent study of manuscript sources in England and America, of newspapers of the period, and of biographies and diaries of Captain Wickes's contemporaries as well. This bibliography should be a most valuable aid to others working in the same field. It is to be regretted, however, that in making such a careful survey of source material Mr. Clark did not investigate more fully the archives and newspapers of Captain Wickes's native state, Maryland. He would have found much to repay him and would have been able to add many interesting pages to his book, particularly regarding the activities of Wickes prior to the Revolution. Scant mention is made of his career as a merchant captain, and no mention whatever is made of the prominent part which he played in the celebrated "Peggy Stewart" affair at Annapolis in the autumn of 1774. The decisive, patriotic stand that he took at this time in regard to the importation of tea probably did more than anything else to bring him to the notice of his countrymen, and helped pave the way for his appointment in the navy. The *Maryland Gazette* gives an excellent account of this affair.

A study of the records of the port of Annapolis shows that as early as 1770 Wickes commanded a ship for Willing and Morris of Philadelphia, as well as ships for other owners. This would also help to explain his naval appointment in 1776, a point upon which Mr. Clark seems uncertain. What would be more natural than that Robert Morris should turn to his trusted employee when he, as a member of the marine committee, sought for suitable commanders for the new warships.

Mr. Clark, though he has given us a careful study of certain phases of the early Revolutionary period and of Wickes's achievements, has failed to give us a clear-cut picture of the worthy captain himself. The reviewer must differ with the author concerning the choice of a subtitle for his book. A sea-raider Wickes most certainly was, though a manly, chivalrous one, and a most gallant, engaging figure as well; but to call him a diplomat is a little too high praise, except in the sense that every naval officer who conducts himself with credit in ticklish diplomatic situations is a diplomat. A more generous treatment of the work of other naval historians would render this book far pleasanter reading.

United States Naval Academy. LOUIS H. BOLANDER.

A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley, with Special Reference to its Waterways, Trade, and Commerce from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER, Professor of History, West Virginia University. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1932. Pp. 465. $7.50.)

THE picturesque and often spectacular incidents which accompanied the earlier development of our transportation system have long appealed to American writers. The National Pike has had its historian, the adventurous life on the Mississippi River has attracted several writers, the canal developments have been described, and now the Ohio River has found in Professor Ambler a competent and loyal chronicler.

For, in spite of the broader title of the book, it is primarily concerned with transportation developments on or connected with the river. Since the earlier phases of this subject have been repeatedly described, the somewhat hackneyed story of transportation overland by pack horse and wagon, or by flatboat and other craft down the rivers, is briefly told. Subsequent chapters deal with the service of the early boatmen in establishing and maintaining strong economic bonds between East and West, and with shipbuilding on inland waters. Seagoing sailing vessels were built in large numbers on the Ohio during the period immediately preceding the embargo, and again in the 'forties, though the exact number is not determinable. The advent of the steamboat introduced an epoch-making change in river transportation. The first steamer, the *New Orleans,* was built at Pittsburgh in 1811 and moved downstream under her own power, but was unable to proceed upstream against the swift current; not until 1816 was this feat accomplished by the *Enterprise,* built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania. The steamboat was still a "losing concern" however, the keelboat remaining for some years the favorite method of navigation.

The extension of the National Pike to the Ohio, the building of the Erie Canal, and later of the Pennsylvania and Ohio canals, all served to swell the traffic that moved on the Ohio River. By 1855 the total annual passenger traffic on the river reached the three million mark. But already the railroad, which reached Pittsburgh in 1852 and Wheeling in 1853, threatened a ruinous competition. By 1856 not a packet of the Union Line remained on the Ohio, and four years later Cincinnati ceased to be strictly a "river city".

With these changes the romantic and spectacular aspects of the Ohio River traffic came to an end. The later developments have been humdrum but noteworthy. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a considerable revival of steamboat packets under corporate ownership and control; in 1905 those on the Ohio carried over two million passengers, and even more important was the increase in bulk traffic of coal, lumber, grain, sand, iron, and steel. After that date a severe decline began, of which the causes were numerous: inadequate terminal facilities, unimproved channels, but most of all the changing attitude and practices of the railroads. Since then the first two difficulties have been largely overcome, and in 1930 the Ohio River system carried the largest freight tonnage in its history—two-

thirds as much as that passing through the Panama Canal and more than that through the Suez. Most of this is carried on barges, fifteen to eighteen in a single tow.

Professor Ambler has written an interesting description of these movements, and has presented an adequate picture of the changing panorama. He has not yielded to the temptation to emphasize the romantic and spectacular features, but has given a balanced account with sufficient analysis to clarify causal relationships. The book is well written and worthily printed.

The University of Illinois. E. L. BOGART.

Négociations de la République du Texas en Europe, 1837–1845. Par MARY KATHERINE CHASE. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1932. Pp. 226. 40 fr.)

THIS study is based upon several years of research in the archives of foreign affairs in Paris, in Brussels, and in The Hague. The appendix contains a number of letters, hitherto unpublished, of Texan envoys in Europe and of European diplomats interested in the problems of the Republic of Texas. The present study supplements admirably the two chief collections of Texan diplomatic documents which have been hitherto published, Garrison's *Diplomatic Correspondence* and Adams's *British Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Texas.* In addition Miss Chase has in preparation an edition of the most important European documents concerning Texas, the correspondence of Dubois de Saligny, which is to appear shortly under the title, *Six Ans au Texas, 1839–1845.* With the aid of these hitherto unpublished documents, supplemented by materials in Texas, especially the papers of Anson Jones, it will be possible for the first time to reconstruct in some detail the diplomatic history of the Republic of Texas.

The topics covered by Miss Chase are: the negotiations in Europe of Henderson, 1837–1839, of Hamilton, 1840 and 1841, of McIntosh, Ashbel Smith, and Daingerfield, 1842–1843, and the final negotiations of Daingerfield, Smith, and Terrell, 1844–1845. Under these general heads, the objects and results of European diplomatic ventures in Texas, especially those of Saligny and Cramayel representing France, and of Pirson from Belgium, are now made reasonably clear. The present reviewer, having examined personally the nine volumes of French documents regarding Texas in Paris, can testify to the scholarly thoroughness with which Miss Chase has done her work. The promised publication of the Saligny letters will throw a flood of light not only on diplomacy but on the politics and social conditions of the Texas republic. While the present study is not a collection of documents, but a study based upon them, the quotations are so well chosen and numerous that the reader is in a position to arrive in many cases at an independent conclusion.

One important controversial question of the times was the significance of Aberdeen's offer of guaranteed independence in 1844. Miss Chase proves fairly conclusively that the British offer was never withdrawn but only changed in form on account of French criticisms. Her documents also indicate that opposition to annexation on the part of such Texans as Jones, Ashbel Smith, Daingerfield, and even Houston was much more sincere and serious than most historians have recognized. The contest between annexationists and their opponents was, accordingly, as real and perhaps as important in Texas as it was on a more obvious stage in the United States.

Even after the researches of Adams and of Miss Chase, there remain a few questions as to the European negotiations regarding Texas on which the light is still dim. What was the exact origin of the early English mission of William Kennedy? What was the exact nature of the diplomacy of Bourgeois d' Orvanne, a French financier of whom we catch glimpses in 1842?

With the exception of documents dealing with plans for emigration, and which undoubtedly exist in Germany and France, Miss Chase has considered the chief sources for Texas history in Europe. It is not likely that further researches will add much to the scholarly work which she has now completed.

Rice Institute. R. G. Caldwell.

Route Across the Rocky Mountains. By Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter, of the Emigration of 1843. Reprinted, with Preface and Notes by Carl L. Cannon, from the Edition of 1846.

A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan. By Jacob S. Robinson. Reprinted, with an Historical Introduction and Notes by Carl L. Cannon, from the Edition of 1848.

The Emigrants' Guide to California. By Joseph E. Ware. Reprinted from the 1849 Edition with Introduction and Notes by John Caughey.

The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions. By Henry Villard. Reprinted from the Edition of 1860, with Introduction and Notes by LeRoy R. Hafen, Secretary, the Colorado Historical Society. [Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, Carl L. Cannon, General Editor.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. Pp. xix, 199; xx, 96; xxiv, 64; xv, 186. $3.00; $2.00; $2.00; $2.50.)

These four little volumes put out by the Princeton University Press mark the beginning of a series of reprints of Western history to be known as *Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier.* In the selection of titles made

to introduce the series, the editors have shown commendable judgment. The workmanship and the scholarship too are of a high order. An appropriate historical introduction has been prepared for each reprint and on the whole the editorial comments are ample for general use.

Each volume is closely related to, or records an initial move in, some preliminary incident pertinent to the history of the West. Johnson and Winter crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1843—two years after the Bartleson and Bidwell company left the Missouri border, the first homeseekers to come overland to California. They published their observations in 1846, a year full of interest to every student of Western history. Colonel Doniphan's expedition, of which Jacob S. Robinson of New Hampshire was a member, was a part of General Kearny's expedition as far as Santa Fe in 1846, and from there to Chihuahua it was commanded by volunteer officers and a few regular subordinates. Robinson's narrative records interesting experiences of the Doniphan expedition from the time it left Missouri in June, 1846, to participate in the western campaign against Mexico until the men were discharged at New Orleans in June, 1847. It is an unofficial record of one of those foolhardy enterprises which, for sheer bravado and swagger, has few equals in Western annals. The account was published in 1848. Ware published his *Guide to California* in 1849. He had never been to the Pacific Coast, but from a few scattered sources, principally from Frémont's writings, he prepared the first complete description of the best route for the forty-niners, and it was not only the first satisfactory guide book of the period but it held its preëminent position until Child and Horn published their handbooks in 1852. While it contains some annoying errors on the subjects of water, grass, and timber, so important to overland emigrants, the volume will continue to have a distinct place in Western Americana because of its priority and because on the whole it really gave an excellent account of the trail to California. *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Region,* published over a decade later, was also intended to be a guide to gold seekers. It was written by a newspaper reporter, Ferdinand Heinrich Gustav Hilgard, better known as Henry Villard. His was a deliberate attempt to commercialize on his observations by giving information on conditions in the gold fields of Colorado and by providing a guide for the emigrants to that section, but the failure of his publishers made it impossible for him to get it out in time for emigration in the spring of 1860. While the work failed to bring Villard the monetary reward which he needed, as a contemporary account of the movement to the Pike's Peak gold field written by a competent observer, the work has a unique place in the annals of the West.

All of these works have long been out of print. Robinson's *Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan* has an auction record of $165.00, while copies of the Johnson and Winter, *Route Across the Rocky*

Mountains, have brought from $300.00 to $500.00. In making these volumes readily accessible, the Princeton University Press has conferred a distinct service upon students of Western history.

Mills College. CARDINAL GOODWIN.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, Father of Secession. By LAURA A. WHITE, University of Wyoming. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 264. $5.00.)

TWENTY years have passed since Miss White set out on her resolute search for new material with regard to Rhett. It is a pity that so faithful a pursuit has not ended in a richer harvest. Great difficulties have been encountered. The apocryphal Rhett papers, for which more than one explorer has sought in vain, have not been found. Though Miss White does not commit herself, she probably agrees with Rhett's grandson, A. Burnet Rhett, in thinking that the papers have been destroyed. However, this slim volume, while it does not record all that is known of Rhett, touches all the phases of his public career, previous to 1861, upon which positive evidence is now to be had. Waiving minor questions that might claim attention if space permitted, there are three large ones that form challenges: the book's method, the interpretation of Rhett in the crucial event of 1850–1851, his course in the Confederacy.

Miss White has not attempted to develop Rhett's actions out of his personality. Whether one will approve or not, is, of course, a matter of temperament. The reviewer happens to be one of those who cannot be satisfied with a biography unless it makes plain the inner life of the subject. Not to derive the surface of life from the inner world, is like accounting for the movement of the hands of a watch without admitting the existence of a mainspring. Especially is this true of the complex episode of secession, especially of the particular secessionist, Rhett. Without a theory, at least, of his inner world, of how the outer was made to accord with it through a process of imagination, there is no explaining his strange, bold, infatuated career.

Most of us will agree that the significant part of it was subsequent to 1850—interesting and picturesque as some of the earlier episodes are! We want to know what animated him in his first great endeavor, the attempt to organize the discontent inspired by the Compromise of 1850 and to convert it into a movement for secession. This problem is part of the larger one—illuminated so well by Professor Craven, in his recent life of Ruffin—the measuring of the real forces that brought secession to a head. Touching one of these, it is at last fashionable to use a phrase coined some time ago, "Southern nationalism". Was it a prime factor of the secession movement? Miss White insists that Rhett was an exponent of "Southern

nationalism"—thus contradicting the view that he was its very opposite, the last die-hard of anti-nationalistic state-rightsism. Perhaps the issue is chiefly a matter of phraseology. By "nationalism" Miss White seems to mean the desire for a concert of action by states that had similar economic interests. In that sense, she is free to go a long way insisting that Rhett assumed such a concert as the inevitable result of the secession of any Southern state. His Southern opponents accused him, at the time, of reasoning in just that way. But such a frame of mind cannot be called "nationalism" in the Hamiltonian sense. The defenders of the other interpretation of Rhett will not admit that his views were a phase of "Southern nationalism"—the desire for a centralized Southern republic—in any sense that Davis, for example, could have accepted.

The astonishing part of the book is the almost perfunctory treatment of Rhett's course in the Confederacy and of the retrospective light which it throws upon his habit of mind. His intemperate opposition to Davis, the fury of his antagonism to any hint of centralization, his preoccupation with points of view which, in the midst of a war for existence, seem nowadays incredible—all this should not have been skimmed over in forty-five pages. The scant treatment of these bewildering matters contributes to producing the sad conclusion that the definitive biography of Rhett is still to be written.

Scripps College. N. W. Stephenson.

King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Ph. D., Professor of History, Vanderbilt University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 617. $5.00.)

Professor Owsley's massive history of Confederate diplomacy is an important contribution. With all the materials available, he has been able to deal with the subject in the round, so that we have not only a discussion of the Confederate commissioners in Europe, but admirable and remarkably interesting accounts of such matters as the affairs of the Confederacy in Mexico and the management and mismanagement of her finances abroad. The value of this book lies in its completeness, which goes far toward making it a definitive study. But the author is even more interested in new interpretations than in new facts. Much of the story is unified by the theme of cotton—the unanimity of the South with regard to its power over Europe, the embargo of 1861–1862 to make the cotton famine worse, the failure of cotton to effect any diplomatic advantage, and the proper use of the staple as the basis of Confederate finances. It is a story not without drama and, as the author's main theme, is carefully and convincingly worked out. But Professor Owsley, like all other writers on the subject,

was constantly pulled toward the ever-central question "Why Europe did not intervene", until he gives it perhaps undue prominence. His answer occupies a final chapter of conspicuous emphasis and, as it differs from the usually current view, is worth discussion. First Napoleon III. is briefly and correctly dismissed as unable to intervene without England because he could not alone hazard a war with America. It is Great Britain, then, that is the real problem, and her continued neutrality was due to three factors. First—and this occupies most of the author's attention—she had no economic motive for intervention because her ability to make war profits more than counteracted the pressure of the cotton famine in favor of intervention. Secondly, she thought almost throughout the war that the South would win its independence without aid anyway; while, lastly, England knew herself very vulnerable in the event of war with the United States.

All this is true but hardly the whole truth. Professor Owsley says, quite rightly, that there is little in the wheat theory—King Corn as stronger than King Cotton; he says there is nothing in the old notion of the idealistic starving cotton operatives heroically refraining from pressing the government to get them cotton: they were not idealists and in any event they had no political weight. But this does not dispose of all rivals. There were other reasons than cotton and a desire to destroy the United States why men in England wanted intervention; and there were other reasons than war profits and fear of the United States why she did not intervene. There were fear and suspicion of Napoleon III., for example; there were politically powerful groups who for domestic reasons wished the Union to be preserved. Professor Owsley's handling of the whole situation, indeed, raises something of a problem, for the author suffers even more than his predecessors from a disability common to all American students of Civil War diplomacy. The fact is that the voluminous sources for Americo-European relations are not adequate to answer the question "Why Europe did not intervene". It seems to the reviewer that if the conduct of British statesmen is to be explained, not only economic forces but domestic politics and European diplomacy must be studied. Professor E. D. Adams did that somewhat, but Professor Owsley has made no attempt to familiarize himself with the European scene. His Confederates are real people whom the author knows and judges intimately; but his Englishmen and Frenchmen are hardly ever more than names. To say that J. A. Roebuck's position in Parliament "was very much like that of John Bright" (p. 466), or to call W. E. Forster the American minister's "man Friday" (p. 339), is to betray almost as complete a lack of interest in his cast of characters as to mention Sir John Russell (p. 49) and Sir Robert Cecil (p. 477). English Nonconformity, so extensively mobilized against the Confederacy after emancipation, is not mentioned; nor does Liverpool appear at all in the index of a book which devotes a chapter to blockade-running. It would seem that

Confederate diplomacy and economic forces have interested the author so greatly as to make unimportant such matters as European conditions, slavery, and even international law.

Technically the work is not impeccable. The style leaves a good deal to be desired. Misprints are few, but English proper names are frequently in error (the proof reading of French is nearly perfect), and there are many incorrect figures in chapter 5, including a conversion of sterling into dollars at about $3.90 (p. 153). The bibliography is badly organized, the index excellent.

Clark University. H. DONALDSON JORDAN.

Portrait of an Independent: Moorfield Storey, 1845–1929. By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. iv, 384. $3.50.)

MR. HOWE'S life of Moorfield Storey is an excellent illustration of the fact that biographies of recent outstanding figures can be written in calm and scholarly fashion. Nor does Mr. Howe find it necessary to entitle his volume "Luck and Pluck" or "Mordant Moorfield". The result is a volume which will appeal to the student, the scholar, the lawyer, and, in general, people who are interested in the formation of public opinion in these United States of ours. Mr. Howe describes Storey's characteristics as "bearing no plainly marked signs of local identification, but belonging to the Anglo-Saxon gentleman of cultivation and distinction, wherever he may be encountered". The description may be applied to the book.

Storey, as everybody knows, was an out-and-out independent. In fact he was so independent and so inclined to magnify the principles which he singled out for especial advocacy that he was frequently "pesky". Late in life, Mr. Storey briefly stated his position as follows: "If Lincoln and Sumner were Republicans, I was a Republican; if Cleveland was a Democrat, I was a Democrat; if George William Curtis was an Independent, I was an Independent" (p. 141). It will not escape the reader that the most recent of these admired few finished his political career as long ago as 1897. McKinley he condemned long and vigorously because of "a disgraceful war of conquest", going so far as to lead opposition in the board of overseers at Harvard when the corporation of the university proposed to give the President a degree of LL.D. Roosevelt and Bryan, Taft and Wilson, Hughes, Harding, and Coolidge, and many others received his outspoken disapprobation.

Perhaps the best illustration of the difficulties to which Storey's individualism carried him appears in the election of 1916. Storey approved the most important parts of Wilson's foreign and domestic policies with an enthusiasm which, for him, was considerable. On the other hand, he dis-

approved Hughes's leaving the Supreme Court in order to reënter politics, and feared that Hughes contemplated an aggressive foreign policy. Under such circumstances Storey's choice would seem to be an easy one. Nevertheless, he decided to support Hughes on the ground, apparently, that Wilson had appointed Brandeis to the Supreme Court and that he had assisted in the passage of the Adamson Act.

Few young men are placed in an environment so generally stimulating and broadening as that with which Storey was blessed in his youth. Not only did he have the advantage of the usual courses in school and at Harvard, but his family connections were such as to give him uncommon opportunities to meet and know many leaders of American thought. Shortly after leaving college he became secretary to Charles Sumner, remaining in this position from 1867 to 1869. This was the period of the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson, and Storey's youthful, cocksure judgments of the leaders of both sides of the controversy are one of the most informing parts of Mr. Howe's book. Moreover, Sumner obviously took an interest in young Storey and took pains to see that he met the "lions", both foreign and domestic. Not improbably the somewhat doctrinaire qualities of the older man were inculcated in the younger by the processes of association and imitation.

During the remainder of his career Storey practiced law in Boston, but found time to identify himself with a great number of public interests, especially civil service reform, anti-imperialism, and the advancement of the negro. In these and other enterprises he showed energy, insight, courage, and a vast devotion to principles as he saw them.

Mr. Howe's style is simple and convincing. The format of the book exemplifies good taste. The reader may lose patience with the hero of the book, but not with the author's presentation.

Dartmouth College. CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume III., *Governor, 1910–1913;* volume IV., *President, 1913–1914.* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1931. Pp. xii, 483; vi, 518. $10.00.)

MR. BAKER'S earlier volumes, covering the youth and the academic career of Woodrow Wilson, have already been reviewed in these pages. The two succeeding volumes, as the titles indicate, take the story through the New Jersey governorship and the first year of the presidency; foreign relations are brought down to the summer of 1914, domestic problems to the end of that year. This was the period of Wilsonian triumphs, long before he won the adulation of millions, but during which he achieved almost constant political success and translated ideas into solid legislative achievement. Cir-

cumstances of the time suited Wilson's qualities. His main strength lay in the presentation of broad political principles, which he knew how to clothe in attractive phrases, rather than in the working out of details. He proved an ideal candidate in the conditions of 1910 and 1912, and the impetus that he secured gave him a control over the legislative branch which helped him temporarily, at least, to realize his early dream of combining the functions of premier and president, of party leader and national leader. He was always at his best in the launching of a cause, at the beginning of a struggle, whether earlier in Princeton or later in his advocacy of the League. The call to the New Jersey governorship rescued him from a difficult situation at Princeton, the call to the national presidency saved him from increasing embarrassments at Trenton, just as the World War later enabled him to rest on his early laurels of domestic legislation, escape the threatened economic depression, and turn to foreign affairs.

The first of the volumes under consideration, although it is entitled *Governor,* is in reality devoted almost entirely to the Wilson candidacy for President, from 1910 to 1912. Of the 460 pages, only seventy-six are devoted to his administration at Trenton. The volume opens with a sketch of the early suggestions of political office for Wilson, while he was at Princeton, the New Jersey situation and the developing realization of Boss Smith that the Princeton president, however enigmatic to one of his sort, was unquestionably available. Wilson himself returned to his political ambitions with a good deal of hesitation, not so much it would seem from love of the academic situation, but rather because he feared he might be chasing rainbows. He accepted the New Jersey nomination certainly with the thought that it might open for him a path to the presidency. Whether Mr. Baker is quite fair to his hero in passing over so rapidly the New Jersey reforms, may be questioned. But the thesis of the volume is the astounding march of the academic figure into the center of state politics, where he captured a control that was at least temporarily complete, and the rapid acquisition of a national reputation by means of frequent tours and superlative eloquence. The latter portion of the volume is devoted to the struggle for delegates to the national convention of 1912, the Baltimore victory, the presidential campaign, and the choice of a cabinet. The succeeding volume, I think, does better justice to Wilson's political creative capacity. After an introductory picture of the President in the White House and his difficulties with office-seekers, it sketches the problem of foreign relations as he found it, with especial emphasis on the repudiation of "dollar diplomacy", proceeds to tariff reform, currency reform, and anti-trust legislation, covers the Huerta crisis and the A. B. C. mediation, and concludes with the Panama Tolls controversy and Caribbean problems.

Even the rather monotonous eulogy of the biographer cannot rob the record of these early months of the Wilson administration of the fresh-

ness and vitality which it injected into politics. The President possessed courage and imagination; utilizing both, he displayed qualities of convincing leadership. He was well served. The Cabinet he had constructed contained marked administrative talent, all the more remarkable in that the Democrats had been so long out of power, and proved politically able to hold together the party in Congress so as to put through Wilson's legislative program. The success of that program was beyond question due in the first instance to the President's extraordinary capacity for expressing the prevalent demand for reform measures, the persuasive quality of his eloquence in its effect upon Congress and the public, his ability to clarify a complex problem and reduce it to simple principles. But Mr. Baker gives a false impression, I think, in his continual emphasis upon the quality of grand strategy which he ascribes to Wilson. The President was not remarkable for the sort of political sagacity necessary to translate ideas into actual legislation; the passing of the Federal Reserve Act, the Tariff Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the repeal of Panama Tolls exemption, demanded a degree of party discipline which Wilson himself, with all his prestige, could not have commanded, and a knowledge of the arguments to be used with individual Congressmen which he did not possess. In this respect the rôle of Bryan was of much greater importance than the reader of these volumes would guess. It was with the greatest reluctance that Wilson, who doubtless appraised Bryan's intellect at its exact value, allowed himself to be persuaded to appoint him to a cabinet position. But without his active influence in Congress it would have been impossible to pass the Federal Reserve Act. Mr. Baker follows convention in ascribing major credit for the Federal Reserve to those who wrote the bill. It does not seem to occur to him that most of its provisions had been previously worked out, many of them by Republicans, and that the credit belongs not to those who wrote it but to those who brought it into being as a law; to those primarily who persuaded Bryan to forget his financial heresies, and to Bryan himself for his loyal support of a bill he never really understood.

Another factor of importance in this, as in later phases of Wilson's career, and one not adequately emphasized by the biographer, is the contact with various shades of influential opinion supplied to Wilson by his advisers, contact which he could not of himself have developed and without which his own estimate of public opinion would almost certainly have been at fault. Mr. Baker assumes, apparently, that Wilson had an unerring estimate of public opinion; he has chosen to minimize the rôle played by Colonel House, whom he pictures in good-humoured but rather patronizing phrases as a simple-minded individual who failed to understand Wilson, for whom the President had warm personal affection but for whose advice he had small respect. It is possible to argue that House's advice was not sagacious, but it is bad history to intimate that the President did not solicit

it, respect it, and follow it; the fact emerges plainly from Wilson's letters to House, very few of which are printed by Mr. Baker. The President framed his own policies, but they were based upon the information and counsel furnished him by advisers. The extent to which Wilson was dependent upon well-informed advisers is apparent from a comparison of the success of his early legislative program with the confusion of his Mexican policy. It is obvious that he knew little of the conditions in Mexico with which he attempted to deal, that he disregarded the career diplomats and depended upon journalists and inexperienced special agents. Even Mr. Baker's defense of the Mexican policy, which incidentally slurs over the garbling of Admiral Fletcher's telegram of April 16, 1914, cannot conceal the fact that the nation and the President were rescued from the embarrassment if not tragedy toward which Wilson's idealistic policy had led us, simply by the proffered mediation of the A. B. C. powers. The confusion and the inconclusion of Wilson's Mexican policy resulted not from mistaken principles, for they were the same he was later to develop with general approval on a larger stage in other parts of the world; the essential fiasco of that policy was caused by mistaken application of sound principles.

Wilson's title to real statesmanship is not spoiled by the futility of this particular aspect of policy any more than by the fact that he was prone to commit cardinal errors when he approached a problem without authoritative and well informed advisers. He still remains the man of really large vision, even though his vision was that of a prophet who always ran the danger of mistaking a mirage for facts; he was none the less the inspired leader despite the continual temptation to construct for himself an unreal world to accord with his own principles. From such a fate he was saved, during these years, by shrewd advisers. This aspect of Wilson, although it is vital to our comprehension of the final tragedy, is not acknowledged by Mr. Baker, who would doubtless dispute it vehemently. But I think his book would do better justice to the grandeur of Wilson's administration if it had been conceived in a more critical spirit, with less imputation of unworthy motives to Wilson's opponents, of dullness to Wilson's subordinates, and a more exact analysis of the President's qualities and defects. A more important criticism of these volumes is concerned with the basic character of the work. Mr. Baker has chosen to attempt a comprehensive and mature biography, in form, a definitive interpretation. He provides lengthy introductions to his chapters with sketches of the historical background of the tariff and labor problems, foreign affairs. He quotes from numerous printed sources. He tells us what were the "real issues". The result is that the book contains more of Mr. Baker than of Wilson; the biographer is continually interposed between his subject and the reader. Instead of Wilson's papers for which historians have been waiting, the reader is given an interpretation; instead of the documents, such phrases as "a close examination of the docu-

ments reveals . . ." or "it is clear enough from the documents that . . ." or "we find that . . ." followed by Mr. Baker's summary conclusion. Analysis of the Wilson papers contained in these two volumes reveals that of the 940 pages only 108 represent in sum Wilson letters hitherto unpublished; and of these more than a third in bulk are letters to Mrs. Hulbert, which have some personal but very little political interest. Eight-ninths of the two volumes thus represent material already printed or Mr. Baker's interpretations. Apart from the historian's disappointment that the space which might have been devoted to original material has gone to other purposes, the question arises as to whether we are not too close to Wilson to attempt a biography of this sort. A biographer possessing the historical scholarship and the literary capacity of Morley might have succeeded. But these pages are marked by technical and literary defects; Mr. Baker makes no distinction between different types of sources, whether letters, diaries, reminiscences; he apparently selects his sources with a thesis in mind; he does not indicate whether his sources are printed or not; he burdens his pages with repetitive use of rhetorical questions and exclamation points; he is lavish in his use of adjectives, often utilizing two or three in succession, with preference for certain marked favorites.

The strength of these volumes thus does not lie in the value of new material, nor in critical treatment, nor in literary quality, but rather in clarity of exposition. Mr. Baker's task, in view of the mass of documents consulted, has been gargantuan; however much we may cavil at his selective process, his arrangement of the selected documents is admirable. No matter how intricate the story, neither he nor the reader is ever lost. If in the succeeding volumes he will utilize his genius for clear arrangement and exposition so as to let Wilson's papers tell their own story, giving us more documents and less interpretation, if he will undertake the rôle of editor rather than of biographer, he will confer a boon upon historians.

Yale University. CHARLES SEYMOUR.

SHORTER NOTICES

L'Unité Humaine: Histoire de la Civilisation et de l'Esprit Humain. Par Paul Perrier. Tome I. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1931, pp. xlvii, 404, 60 fr.) Under various aliases—"Historismus", "la synthèse historique", and "the New History"—the philosophy of history which flourished a century ago and then died has revived. During a tour of the world M. Paul Perrier has written an extensive survey of the human record, dedicated to Henri Berr and intended to bring all the facts of social evolution under a single law. This law is the progressive unification of human thought, "la poursuite de l'unité humaine, voilà le grand fait de l'histoire qui résume tous les

autres". Religion progresses from many gods to one, from a multitude of specific laws to a few simple dogmas; small societies give place to large ones, finally to an ecumenical state; laws are codified and simplified; science replaces a multiplicity of empirical rules by a few master generalizations. By a bold definition, or analogy, M. Perrier brings together the tendency of small societies to merge into larger ones, and the scientific process by which groups of facts are subsumed under ever larger general formulas. To the author the growing unity of the world under improved means of communication and the increasing power of science to deal with abstractions seem to be two phases of the same law.

Not only is this analogy deceptive, but in its second member, so general as to be useless for heuristic purposes. What M. Perrier has discovered, in his law of increasing abstraction, is not a law of history, but a general law of thought. It is about as valuable as would be the discovery that the pursuit of wealth has made mankind richer. The real interest of M. Perrier's work lies not in its contribution to the understanding of history, but in its testimony to the tendency of this age to pay homage to scientific progress and to the idea of a world society. Not in his conclusions, but in his method and presuppositions, he reminds me both of Hegel and of Boileau, those legislators who mistook the manifesto of a party for the discovery of the ultimate laws of nature.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

On Understanding Women. By Mary R. Beard. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 541, $3.50.) Mrs. Beard's thesis is that "Woman and her work in the world can best be understood in relation to the total process that has brought mankind from primitive barbarism to its present state" (p. 32). Feeling that men who have written histories of civilization have not devoted due space to women, and despairing of any tendency among women who have entered the historical field toward correcting this defect, she has gallantly thrown herself into the breach and endeavored to provide a more balanced ration. She has begun with primitive man and ended with speculation about the future: inserting among the recognized male leaders women from the barbarian at her cooking and weaving to the modern woman who invents agricultural machinery, from the pythoness to Rosa Luxembourg, from Queen Hatasu to Vera Figner.

The author has foreseen that the historian will question her method and must correct her narrative, but she disclaims the attempt to do more than blaze a trail, which others must clear. Yet it seems fairly certain that if she had not set herself so vast a task she would have made her point more effectively. In a carefully documented study of men and women working together in some one period for which she had a mastery of the sources she

could have gone farther toward making clear the nature and importance of woman's contribution than she has succeeded in doing by rambling over the whole field of human history.

Vassar College. LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Staatsform und Politik: Untersuchungen zur Griechischen Geschichte des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts. Von Hans Schaefer. (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp. viii, 283, 11 M.) The author's point of departure is Hasebroek's thesis that the causes of imperialism in antiquity were altogether economic. This perilous simplification of historical problems, with which, in one form or another, we have become so familiar in recent years, challenges the critical judgment of Herr Schaefer, who embarks on a thorough and stimulating analysis of the functional evolution of international relations. The beginnings are in those remote days for which Homer is our only witness, when a man away from his own country had no rights whatever, but was dependent on the protection of his host who would be constrained to receive him, if at all, by religious scruples and common humanity, but by no law or convention. Mutual convenience, however, led to the development of a state of reciprocity in relation to hospitality and eventually to the device of proxeny, by which an individual of one city considered himself the regular and proper host for any person from some other city. So far the relation was a purely personal one, but proxeny speedily developed international aspects, for it was inevitable that the labors and expenses of the proxenus should be rewarded by the city whose citizens he received. Such reward might be mere compliment, but it might be the bestowal of valuable privileges or actual payment. In this case a formal relationship was established between an individual and a foreign state which was the natural prelude to a formal relation between states.

On the other hand, international relations were affected by relations within the state. That partial surrender of individual rights which is essential to the formation of a state could not but suggest the analogous advantages to be gained by a friendly combination between states based on similar concessions. But in Greece the spirit of concession had always to combat the forces of individualism and the intensely competitive aspect of all phases of public life. Later philosophers might debate the virtues of equality, but it was foreordained that a league, such as the Delian League, should become the Athenian empire by the inevitable domination of the strongest state. Leadership was not only a practical asset, it was an ideal against which not even the federal ideal of the Achæan League (which is beyond the scope of this book) could prevail.

Yale University. ALFRED R. BELLINGER.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Third Season of Work, November, 1929–March, 1930. Edited by P. V. C. Baur, Professor of Classical Archæology in Yale University, M. I. Rostovtzeff, Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archæology in Yale University, and Alfred R. Bellinger, Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin in Yale University. [Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 168, 20 plates, $2.00.) During the season 1929–1930 the temples of Artemis and Atargatis and a large part of the adjacent "Priests' House" were completely excavated and work was carried on at the "Custom House" near the Palmyrene Gate, at baths in the same region, along the South Ramparts, at the Southwest Bastion, and at the Triumphal Arch. Numerous miscellaneous objects (pottery, glass, lamps, tools, etc.), many coins (Seleucid, Parthian, and Roman of various mints), twenty-two Greek and two Semitic inscriptions (one apparently Christian), and a number of interesting works of sculpture were found. In connection with a relief representing Atargatis and Hadad, Professor Baur contributes a learned treatise on fetichism, the Earth-Goddess and the Storm-God, and their cults and art forms. The Greek city of Dura was founded by Seleucus Nicator (306–281 B.C.) and was always in close touch with Antioch. It was conquered by the Parthians, then by the Romans, and under Caracalla became a Roman colony, Aurelia Antoniniana Europos. The Sassanid Sapor I. conquered and probably destroyed it, 256 A.D. These facts are established by the coins, inscriptions, and ruins. The excellent report contains a classified list of coins and much interesting discussion of individual objects and of the temples, their chronology and their relation to Babylonian and other buildings.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity. Compiled by S. J. Case, J. T. McNeill, W. W. Sweet, W. Pauck, M. Spinka. Edited by S. J. Case. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. xi, 265, $2.50.) Recent experience has given the reviewer a sympathetic approach to this manifestly useful little volume. In much of his philosophy of life he prefers the *both-and* solution to the *either-or,* but in the space restrictions of a manual, the latter becomes nearly a Hobson's choice. The detection of petty errors has merely irritated bruises not yet healed; a slight infusion from a sense of humor into Stoic resignation seems the only balm when pernickety blunders remind one of the total depravity of inanimate things. Scientific and literary language may yield to the colloquial in such an emotional area. One illustration will suffice: a recent work of one of the collaborators is listed as of 1939! More unfortunate are such slips as these: *The Dictionary*

of American Biography, "To be completed in twelve volumes" [for 20]; the beginning of the *American Historical Review* at 1912 [for 1895].

Reviewers' judgments in the matter of selection of titles, inclusions and exclusions, will differ from one another as much as each from that of the compilers of this work; with the statement of the possible uses in its preface, the present reviewer would have included some works of broader gauge which are omitted, even though it would have required the omission of some special studies. Monographs are so numerous, those selected might well have been clustered about important fields of historical investigation in ways which would have disclosed more definitely the controversial and the neglected areas. It is surprising that no reference was made to the approaching publication of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (May, 1931), in which three of the compilers had generously collaborated. The utility of the book as a syllabus would have been enhanced if a conspectus of its analysis had been included. The index, arranged chiefly by authors and less inclusive of topics, gives no ready aid to one who is searching for periodicals or biography.

W. H. A.

The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades. Extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī, by H. A. R. Gibb, M.A., Professor of Arabic in the University of London. (London, Luzac and Company, 1932, pp. 368, 15 s.) At last we have a translation into a Western language of the most important Arabic source for the early period of the Crusades. The manuscript in the Bodleian Library was edited in 1908 by H. F. Amedroz, who printed the Arabic text and supplied a summary and valuable bibliographical notes. This excellent edition, however, was little used and writers on the Crusades continued to quote Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāma, and other later writers who had drawn most of their information from Ibn al-Qalānisī.

Professor Gibb has translated almost all the Chronicle from 1096 on. The author was a learned and devout Muslim who held important offices in Damascus, lived to be over ninety years of age (lunar years), and continued his Chronicle till within a month of his death, in 1160. His interest was centered in Damascus and he was not always well informed about events elsewhere, but he strove to be accurate and he had, in particular, much information about Egypt. He gave many dates which would have been useful to Röhricht and Hagenmeyer if they had had access to his work.

His Chronicle emphasizes the divisions among the Muslims which aided the Crusaders; the relations between Damascus and the Christians—even under Nureddin the city paid tribute to the Franks; the activities of the Assassins. His accounts of the death of Zangi and of the fruitless attack on Damascus at the time of the Second Crusade especially deserve notice.

He mentions the arrest by the Franks, in 1138, of 500 "Muslin merchants and men of Aleppo and traders" in Antioch and the coast towns (p. 246), the apostasy of the Qādī and about 400 Muslims in Buzā 'a who "turned Christian" when the town was captured (p. 250). We would gladly know what became of the countless books which the Christians got in the booty at Tripoli in 1109 (p. 89). These details give only a suggestion of the wealth of material in the Chronicle.

D. C. M.

Opera Hactenus Inedita T. Livii de Frulovisiis de Ferraria. Recognovit C. W. Previté-Orton, Litt.D., Acad. Brit. Socius, Collegii S. Iohannis Evangelistae, Socius et Bibliothecarius. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xxxvii, 397, $8.50.) Titus Livius has hitherto been important for historians as the author of a fifteenth century life of Henry V. In 1915 Mr. Previté-Orton called attention in the *English Historical Review* to a manuscript text of seven comedies by this same author belonging to St. John's College, Cambridge. This he has now edited and published along with Livius's other unpublished works, a treatise on the state (*De Republica*) from a manuscript in the municipal library at Reggio-Emilia, and an *Encomium* addressed to the bishop of Bath. The task of editing these has been simplified by the fact that each of the manuscripts exists in a single copy. The editor assumes also, reasonably enough, that the plays and the *De Republica* are texts which were written or corrected by the author himself.

For the student of Humanism and of the Renaissance this volume will be of interest as showing the work of an early humanist (fl. 1430–1440), even when it is recognized that Titus Livius was a person of no very great talents or particular importance. He was probably typical of a large group of literary schoolmasters who had an arder for the new learning greater than their literary abiIity, and who had to make a living in an aristocratic society by their pens and their wits. In the present instance the comedies are presented by the editor as the "first purely secular plays imitated from classic play-wrights, yet drawing their theme from contemporary life and character, which are known to have been really performed". In this respect the author may be regarded as something of a pioneer in the development of the modern drama. As a political theorist it must be admitted that Titus Livius cannot rank very high, but it is claimed that his *De Republica* is the earliest presentation of a Renaissance view of the state, and that consequently it is of interest as illustrating a phase in the transition from the medieval point of view to the political ideas of Machiavelli.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Sveriges Riksdag. Förra Avdelningen. Band I., *Ríksdagens Uppkomst och Utveckling intill Medeltidens Slut.* By Sven Tunberg. (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons Bokindustriaktiebolag, 1931, pp. 224, 6.50 Swedish crowns.) This work is the first volume of a series of fifteen to be published under the auspices of the government as a memorial of the 500th anniversary of the establishment of the Swedish parliament. Written by Professor Sven Tunberg, of the University of Stockholm, it deals with the origin of the Riksdag and its development until the end of the Middle Ages. Although some literature is available on this period of Swedish history, chiefly the constitutional histories and commentaries of Naumann, Hildebrand, and Herlitz, there has been no previous comprehensive account of the genesis and early growth of the Riksdag. Based as it is upon almost wholly primary source material, most of which is extremely difficult to handle, Professor Tunberg's contribution is of great value.

The author outlines as the forerunners of the Riksdag the *Herredag* (*cf.* the German *Herrentag*), or exclusive assembly of notables, which is found as early as the close of the twelfth century, and the electoral assemblies provided in the old provincial laws for the election of the kings. In 1359 King Magnus Ericsson called a meeting at Kalmar to which all classes of the kingdom were summoned. This was an isolated instance, however, and had no great importance with respect to the later development. The increasing domination of the aristocracy, as well as the strong rule exercised by Marguerite, saw little need of the participation of wider elements of the population in the central government.

The revolt of Englebrekt against both the union with Denmark-Norway and the aristocratic council, demanded the coöperation of the masses and it is out of this national movement that the Riksdag was born. The assembly of estates which at the initiative of Engelbrekt gathered at Arboga in January, 1435, is definitely established by Tunberg as the first Swedish Riksdag. During that year and 1436 there were four such meetings, at all of which representatives from the important elements of the population participated. The democratic representative gathering which here saw its beginning became an important element in the awakening of nationalism and the reëstablishment of independence. The extent to which the Riksdag became an accepted institution in the life of the state is demonstrated by the fact that when Christian II. arrived in Sweden in the spring of 1520 one of his first acts was to summon a Riksdag in Stockholm. At the break from Denmark and the birth of modern Sweden under Gustavus Vasa, the Swedish parliament, although not yet possessing any definite forms of procedure or legal standing, furnished a recognized means of consultation between king and people.

The University of California. ERIC CYRIL BELLQUIST.

De Zinspreuk in Necessariis Unitas, in non Necessariis Libertas, in Utriusque Caritas: Eenheid in het Noodige, Vrijheid in het niet Noodige, in Beide de Liefde: Oorsprong, Beteekenis en Verbreiding. Door Dr. A. Eekhof. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1931, pp. 87.) Professor Eekhof is secretary of the University of Leiden, and teaches Church history in that institution. Most of his numerous writings have been devoted to various phases of the Reformation. In the present one he throws welcome light on Petrus Meiderlinus, or Rupertus Meldenius, who, in his *Paraenesis votiva pro Pace Ecclesiae,* used for the first time the phrase, *In Necessariis Unitas, in non Necessariis Libertas, in Utriusque Caritas.* This phrase, as Dr. Eekhof clearly shows, is generally misunderstood and wrongly translated by writers who have quoted it since the middle of the eighteenth century. It should read in English, "Unity in things necessary to salvation, liberty in those not necessary to salvation, charity in both".

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

A History of Europe from 1494 to 1610. By A. J. Grant, formerly Professor of History in the University of Leeds. [History of Medieval and Modern Europe, volume V.] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932, pp. xiii, 572, $6.50.) A more accurate title for this book would be *A History of Politics, Diplomacy, War, and Religion in France and in Western Europe from 1494 to 1610.* Yet the author himself says that "it would be absurd to limit the history of the sixteenth century to international and domestic politics, and to ecclesiastical and religious matters, important as these were" (p. 528) and he defends himself in his preface for having extended his survey to cover the whole of Europe. A brief concluding chapter alone concerns itself with economic and social factors and contains the only serious examination in the whole book of such topics as art, literature, philosophy, or political theory. Eleven of the twenty-two chapters deal with France: of the four chapters devoted to areas not strictly Western European, only one is really successful (The Old World and the New). England is omitted. The author and his book suffer from a very narrow and, in this year of grace, indefensible definition of both *History* and *Europe.*

Despite too many facts and a great deal of repetition, the book is carefully planned and clearly written. The author is usually well-informed and occasionally stimulating. He thinks that the *Republic* of Plato provoked more speculation in Europe than the discovery of both Americas and all the Indies. He suggests that democracy, if it is the offspring of the Reformation, must have been the child of its extreme old age. There are excellent paragraphs on Paul IV., Charles V., Gustavus Adolphus, the Peace of Augsburg, and the Edict of Nantes. Savoy, for once, is adequately

treated. Few would agree, however, that "the decade from 1515 to 1525 is the most controversial in the history of Europe". The French Renaissance is slighted; the interpretation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day is unsatisfactory. The extensive use of the Grand Design of Henry IV. "for the light it throws on the ideas of the times" is certainly curious in view of the author's own confession that it belongs neither to Henry IV. nor to the sixteenth century. There are no references to recent critical work bearing upon Sully's *Mémoires.*

The bibliographical lists are scattered and inadequate. The author gives no evidence of having read and certainly does not mention Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation* (1920), his *History of Modern Culture* (volume I., 1930), or Paul van Dyke's *Catherine de Médicis* (1922)—his *Ignatius Loyola* (1926) is listed. There are three appendixes, two of them needless, several genealogical tables, a good index, and a sufficient number of black and white maps. The format of the book is excellent.

This book is roughly similar to the well-known work on the seventeenth century by David Ogg; it differs almost completely in both scope and method from the masterly analysis of that same century which has recently come from the pen of G. N. Clark.

Smith College. SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

De Handel op den Vijand, 1572–1609. Door Dr. J. H. Kernkamp. Deel I., *1572–1588.* (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1931, pp. 257, 3.50. fl.) Trade with the enemy has been a constant, though more or less obscure, factor in modern wars, the World War, as we are beginning to know, not excepted. That it recurs in spite of efforts of belligerent governments to stop it, in spite of the severest penalties and the reprehension of patriots, suggests that there may be an underlying reasonableness in this phenomenon which awaits historical analysis. It is noteworthy that the Dutch, who were for a century and a half the foremost mercantile nation of Europe, and whose government was most closely in touch with economic realities, held practical views in regard to trade with the enemy. Dr. Kernkamp's thesis covers the years during which the fledgling republic was fighting for dear life against Spain. It affords many important sidelights on that struggle as also on an already vigorous Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry, on the mutual relations of the provinces composing the Union of Utrecht, and on the tariff policy finally adopted by the states general. Trade with Spain, especially in grain, materials for shipbuilding, and munitions, was so profitable to the Dutch that it was suffered to continue without serious interruption except for the brief interval of Leicester's government. Trade with the southern provinces reconciled to Spain and occupied by Parma was another and a burning question. Here the inland provinces were arrayed against Holland and Zealand, and Holland and Zealand as usual against each other. The

policy of the states general fluctuated, and there were several periods of prohibition alternating with periods of connivance before Holland enforced her will in the matter in 1587. Thereafter trade to the southern provinces was open, though liable to heavy taxation in the form of licences. Justification for this unorthodox solution was found in the argument that if the Hollanders and Zealanders should abstain, enemy trade would fall to the unloved English and Hanseats, while the maritime provinces would be unable to find the revenue necessary for the war.

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

Cornwallis in Bengal: the Administrative and Judicial Reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with Accounts of the Commercial Expansion of the East India Company, 1786–1793, and of the Foundation of Penang, 1786–1793. By A. Aspinall, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History in the University of Reading, formerly Lecturer in History in the University of Rangoon. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. LX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1931, pp. xv, 210, 15 s.) The career of Lord Cornwallis reflects the shift of British imperial interest from the west to the east which followed the American Revolution. With the great secession of 1776–1783 Great Britain's possessions in India assumed new importance and value in mercantile opinion. William Pitt was expressing that opinion when he said, in 1784, that India "had at all times been of great consequence to this country from the resources of opulence and strength it afforded; and that consequence had, of course, increased in proportion to the losses sustained by the dismemberment of other great possessions; by which losses the limits of the Empire being more contracted, the remaining territories became more valuable". Cornwallis, whose name is indelibly associated with the loss of an empire, played a not unimportant part in the upbuilding of a new one.

The scope of Dr. Aspinall's monograph is indicated by its subtitle. In the body of the book the internal reforms of Cornwallis's governor-generalship are described, and two appendixes deal, respectively, with the trade of the East India Company at the time and with the founding of Penang, the first of the Straits Settlements. The author leaves out of consideration, on the ground that they have been treated adequately elsewhere, the permanent settlement of the land revenues of Bengal which Cornwallis brought about and his war with Tipu of Mysore. On the basis of sources published and unpublished he describes the administrative, commercial, and judicial reforms of Cornwallis's administration. He is thoroughly objective and impartial throughout, and his study is free from that smug national self-satisfaction that marks so much of what Englishmen—even scholarly Englishmen—have written about India. He does full justice to the governor-general's integrity and high sense of duty, and to the sincerity of his desire

to improve the material conditions of the natives. But he makes it clear that Cornwallis had little insight into the nature and needs of the people he was called upon to govern. He had an undue confidence that institutions would work as they were intended to work, and it was his policy, for which he was not exclusively responsible, "to make everything as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing". He had a deeply rooted conviction that Indians were untrustworthy in public office and replaced Indian judges of the criminal courts by Englishmen. It is Dr. Aspinall's opinion that "the Cornwallis system" tended to "debase rather than uplift the people". The company's government of Bengal was superior in certain respects to that which it had destroyed, but the advantages were purchased at a heavy price.

Columbia University. R. L. SCHUYLER.

The French Revolution, 1789–1799. By Leo Gershoy, Associate Professor of History, Long Island University. [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1932, pp. xi, 111, $1.00.) In this book Professor Gershoy presents an adequate brief sketch of the Revolutionary period. After explaining "What the Revolution Was and Was Not", he demonstrates that it was ". . . an effort to effect reforms long deferred and badly needed", and shows how finally "a severe financial crisis precipitated revolutionary developments". The author then proceeds to his theme—the eighteenth century evolution of modern order out of medieval chaos. This he develops through The Essay in Constitutional Monarchy, 1789–1792, The Rise and Fall of the Jacobin Commonwealth, 1792–1795, and Trial and Failure of the Constitutional Republic, 1795–1799, completing the study with an epitome of the Revolution and a survey of conditions in 1799.

The chief value of the work lies perhaps in the writer's simple treatment of such intricate matters as the economic difficulties, the international complications, and the political clubs and parties. His descriptive powers, too, manifesting themselves in frequent provocative passages, enhance the quality of the book, for example (p. 21), his remark that "July 14 had promised the people political control, and August 4 social equality, but these promises were not to be redeemed without a struggle", and (p. 44) his estimate of the Girondins as "much too fastidious to overlook the tattered clothes, the dirty faces, and the sweating bodies of the people".

The faults of the volume, while not serious, are none the less obvious. A broader interpretation of the old régime might well have been given to show more effectively the need for reform in 1789. The bibliography, although necessarily brief, should scarcely omit Acton's *Lectures on the French Revolution,* Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution,* Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française,* Lowell's *Eve of the French*

Revolution, and the volume *La Révolution Française* in Hachette's *Encyclopédie par l'Image.* Biographical studies of the king and queen are missing, as are the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints;* and an otherwise excellent list of novels seems incomplete without Barrington's *Empress of Hearts.*

Withal, Professor Gershoy has provided a useful guide for beginners, and those interested in the Revolutionary period will doubtless await with pleasure his more extensive forthcoming work.

Western Reserve University. JOHN HALL STEWART.

Venice and Bonaparte. By George B. McClellan, Professor of Economic History in Princeton University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1931, pp. 307, $3.50.) The story of the actual extinction of the Venetian state has usually been narrated in a few paragraphs as an episode in the career of Bonaparte, rather than recounted in detail as an event of intrinsic significance. By performing this latter task the present author has done a real service to English readers. Despite its merits the volume lacks the distinction of style necessary to attract the general reader and falls short of the exhaustiveness of research and breadth of treatment demanded by the historical scholar. The author has made good use of the Venetian archives, but those of other countries, notably France and Austria, have not been consulted. The bibliography lists about two hundred titles in Italian, French and English, but omits so important a work as Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe.* German works are lacking so that the Austrian side of the case is unrepresented. The Napoleonic scholar will criticize the correlation with the campaign of 1796 as something less than adequate, the student of Italian history will regret that the integration with the history of the peninsula has not been more perfect, and the historian of Austria will be still more severe in his indictment of the inadequate consideration of Hapsburg interests and activities.

One-third of the narrative is devoted to a survey of the background and a description of the political, economic, and social life of Venice in the eighteenth century. The other two-thirds, which are the real essence of the book, recount chronologically, in eleven chapters, the events of 1796–1797. Probably most writers have passed a much too severe judgment on Bonaparte's abrupt intervention in Venice and his summary diplomatic disposition of the city and its territories, but the present author seems to sin as much on the side of leniency. The accounts of the disturbances in Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona in March and April, 1797, and the attribution of responsibility are plausible but not fully convincing. The later chapters which describe the overthrow of the republic, the period of French control, and the transfer to Austria are, doubtless, the best, though the reader may refuse

to indorse all the judgments. The concluding chapter presents a reasonable interpretation of Bonaparte but will raise a multitude of questions in the mind of the intelligent reader. It is unfortunate that so good a book should offer to the reviewer so many temptations to be critical.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Der Freiherr vom Stein in seinem Verhältnis zu Religion und Kirche. Von Dr. Herbert Hafner. (Berlin-Grunewald, Walther Rothschild, 1932, pp. xiv, 109, 5.60 M.) The Prussian statesman and reformer, the Freiherr vom Stein, died in 1831. The centenary of his death has produced a very considerable addition to the literature about him. In general these volumes, monographs, and source collections have added little that was strikingly novel. They have in most cases served a useful purpose in supplementing the work of Pertz, Lehmann, Meier, and others, and in emphasizing special phases of his career.

Dr. Hafner's monograph is an excellent example of what can be done by the intensified study of a single phase. He has searched the printed sources and read again family letters in the archives at Cappenberg. He has followed this up with an analysis to the second or third intellectual generation of those with whom Stein came in contact or whose works he may have read. The mother, the tutor, his superior Heinitz, the preachers he heard, such as Eylert and Schleiermacher, his friends Brandes and Rehberg, his mother's friend, the mystic and physiognomist, Lavater, the Catholics and Herrnhüter and Calvinists with whom he had to deal, and back of them the philosophers, theological writers, and conservative pamphleteers like Burke, are all passed in review. With praiseworthy industry he has arranged these influences, direct and remote, and Stein's own utterances into chapters that follow chronologically from his youth to his old age. The whole study does not reveal a new Stein nor any novel interpretation of the relation of religion to his personality and policy, such as Lenz offered in his essay on Bismarck's religion or could be derived from Bismarck's letter to Herr von Puttkammer asking for the hand of his daughter. We knew Stein well from the angle of his relations to religion and the church on the basis of such a picture as is given by Eylert in the excerpt I translated in my brief biography of Stein.

Stein was neither pietist nor rationalist nor philosopher. He repudiated the old orthodoxy and its forms but retained a simple faith in divine revelation in the Bible. Doing his duty, learning all he could, and leaving the rest to Providence were characteristic of him at all times. When Napoleon triumphed and Prussia was prostrate, and again when reaction was in the saddle his utterances on political ethics, the moral character of the state, his exaltation of the fatherland with a fervent faith, take more and more the pietistic color of a superrational, traditional religious belief reënforced by

personal experience and what he called "sound common sense". At all times as man or statesman he was free from denominational prepossessions. The study as a whole is a good piece of scholarly workmanship, and chapters IV. and V. are especially commendable.

The University of Minnesota. GUY STANTON FORD.

The Suez Canal: its History and Diplomatic Importance. By Charles W. Hallberg, Ph.D., Syracuse University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 348.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 434, $5.25.) The salient points in the history of the Suez Canal have been set forth on a number of occasions since the opening of that "Second Bosphorus" in 1869. Mr. Hallberg, in writing on this interesting subject, has justified a new work and performed a service in unifying previous studies relating to the canal, in adducing some new evidence from British, French, and Austrian archives, and in bringing the account down to date. It is a bit surprising that the author should consider it appropriate to devote his first three chapters, almost one-sixth of his narrative, to a review of ancient, medieval, and early modern canals and canal projects in Egypt, inasmuch as the present waterway is the lineal descendant of none of these, but rather of the French plan represented by the survey of 1799. The remainder of the book, however, presents a very fair account of the evolution of the present canal through the last century and a quarter. The successive obstructions raised by the British government, British acquisition of control of the completed waterway, and the subsequent incompatibility of the neutralization of the canal with adequate protection of British interests in the East are treated in detail, the commercial and financial history of the canal being relegated to a series of appendixes.

There is little in Mr. Hallberg's interpretation of national attitudes toward the canal or of the commercial and strategic importance of that artery which need be questioned, or, for that matter, little which is new. For the most part the author is content to present his evidence without comment. He appears to believe that while the canal is extremely important to British commercial interests, it is not necessarily vital to the British empire because of the existence of the old and reliable Cape route. He demonstrates the truth of the frequent assertion that the independence of Egypt must needs be circumscribed by British measures for the defense of the canal. But he omits mention of one important and complicated factor in the political situation of Egypt—that the operation of the canal depends on a constant supply of fresh water which must necessarily be drawn from the Nile through the Sweet Water Canal, and that the questionable advantage which the Egyptian government thus possesses is fully offset by British control of the sources of the Nile itself.

Although the book is well written for the most part, it bears some

unfortunate marks of amateurishness. This is most evident in certain doubtful generalizations, in the treatment of incidental subject matter, and in the author's failing always to verify the sources used. These and other slight imperfections, however, do not obscure the sound qualities of a useful addition to the literature of the Suez Canal.

Tufts College. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Friedrich List: Schriften, Reden, Briefe. Band II., *Grundlinien einer Politischen Oekonomie, und Andere Beiträge der Amerikanischen Zeit, 1825–1832.* Herausgegeben von William Notz. [Im Auftrag der Friedrich List-Gesellschaft, E.V.] (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1931, pp. xiv, 530, 18 M.) This is the second volume of a seven volume edition of the works of Friedrich List, and covers the period of his residence in the United States, 1825–1832. It is edited by Dr. William Notz, of Georgetown University, who has brought to his task scholarship and painstaking industry. A critical essay on "Friedrich List in America" introduces the volume and very full notes and commentaries conclude it. The body of the book consists of List's *Outlines of American Political Economy,* his Philadelphia Speech, Harrisburg Address, and numerous shorter articles, excerpts from his journal, and from the *Readinger Adler,* of which he was editor for five years. Some of these are here printed for the first time, while practically none was previously available in complete form in any book. For the service of rendering this material accessible thanks are due the Friedrich List-Gesellschaft of Germany.

List's career is of interest both to German and to American students, for he influenced the development of economic thought in each country, and was in turn profoundly influenced by his residence in the United States. It has usually been assumed that List obtained his ideas about protection from his observations in this country and from reading Hamilton, Clay, Carey, and other American writers, and that his *National System of Political Economy* was based upon these experiences. A careful reading of these documents shows, however, that he had already developed the main principles of his system before coming to this country and that he only enlarged and clarified his original views with the rich experiences from the New World. On the other hand his vigorous protest against the individualism and free trade teaching of Adam Smith fitted in admirably with the American System proclaimed by Henry Clay and appeared at the psychological moment to give theoretical support to the doctrine of protection to infant industries and the development of a home market.

List's teachings had a more marked affect upon economic thought in Germany than upon that in the United States, but even in this country his writings have not been without influence. It is to be hoped that the ex-

cellent volume under review may be published in this country in translation and thus be rendered even more useful.

The University of Illinois. E. L. Bogart.

Johann Gustav Droysen und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage. Von Felix Gilbert. [Beiheft 20 der *Historischen Zeitschrift.*] (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1931, pp. vi, 148, 7.20 M.) Gilbert differs from Hintze and other commentators on Droysen's *Alexander.* They see in the portrayal of the Macedonian military monarchy, opposed to particularistic Hellas, a parallel to the desired supremacy of Prussia over the lesser German states. He argues that Droysen emphasized, not the conquest of the Greek states, but the spread of Greek culture in Asia. Droysen's parallel is to be found in the idea, which he held until late in 1848, that the problem of the relation of Prussia to Germany lay in a contest, not of living state personalities but of spiritual values; that the disappearance of Prussia in a future German national state would not be a sacrifice of Prussia, but the realization of "the Prussia idea". Unlike most of his liberal contemporaries, he rejoiced that the United Diet of 1847 did not lead to a Prussian constitution. He feared that the success of the Prussian constitutional assembly of 1848 and the establishment of a Prussian parliament at Berlin, would prevent the accomplishment of what he believed essential to German unity: the division of Prussia into three or four territorial states in personal union under the dynasty which could find its compensation and its real center of interest in the headship of the Reich. The grant of the constitution by Frederick William IV. dashed his hopes, but it completed the opening of his eyes to the real cohesion of the Prussian monarchy and to the practical necessities of the problem. The idea of the Prussian conquest of Germany took shape in his mind. He undertook a study of the history of Prussian state policy and found a remarkable coincidence of the interests of the Prussian state with the interests of Germany.

The reader will find here much else of interest about the development of Droysen's historical views, in his departure from the influence of Hegel and in his difference from Ranke. At the moment, however, the main theme stands out, for the problem of the relation of Prussia to Germany, which was practically in abeyance during the years of the empire, has again become a question of vital importance.

The University of Minnesota. Lawrence D. Steefel.

Histoire de Belgique. Par H. Pirenne, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Tome VII., *De la Révolution de 1830 à la Guerre de 1914.* (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1932, pp. xii, 416, 55 fr.) One is accustomed to dismiss the Belgian Revolution of 1830 with the thought that once the dif-

ficulty of the selection of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was over, all went smoothly in the new nation. Professor Pirenne's latest volume shows that this was not the case and that the new king had an exceedingly difficult rôle to play.

By nature Leopold I. was a conservative, but he had to put into operation a constitution that weakened the executive in every way—"une monarchie républicaine". Placed between a conservative reactionary force and a bourgeoisie more liberal than that which dominated France, any other king might easily have had anarchy or revolution on his hands. But Leopold led Belgium through the danger. The situation, in fact, was not a purely political one; there were, as well, economic difficulties. The loss of the Dutch markets and colonies caused a violent reaction in Belgium while the closing of the Scheldt interfered with the trade that the Belgians had had with Germany. As well, England, of course, inundated the country with her wares. Such a situation gave credit to the reactionaries or "orangistes" who desired a return to the conditions imposed by the arrangements of 1815.

Pirenne is not sparing in his praise of Leopold I. and in this volume one realizes that the new king was an astute director of Belgian destinies and not simply important in his rôle of "Uncle of all Western Europe". The test and proof of the dynasty's endurance came in 1848 when Leopold, in spite of the influence and intrigues of the Paris radicals, brought Belgium safely through the storm of March that swept from Paris all over Western Europe.

From that year, the real life of Belgium as a nation began. Her literary and intellectual life was quickened. When, in 1890, the country passed through the crisis of a constitutional revision, her solidarity was established, and with the successful conclusion of the personal venture of Leopold II. in the Congo, the prestige of Belgium in the European family of nations was accomplished. Belgium became prosperous.

The last chapter, written in Pirenne's habitually moderate and careful style, relates briefly the events of the years preceding the War of 1914.

This is the seventh volume of Pirenne's monumental work on the history of his country. He announces in his preface that he will leave to his successors the task of relating the story of Belgium's struggle after 1914. The series which he has just concluded is a brilliant and inspired piece of work that is equal to his other earlier social and economic studies of medieval Europe. He has behind him an imposing list of splendid efforts. One hopes that we may soon have other works from his pen.

Yale University. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique. Par Henri Pirenne, Henri Nowé, et Henri Obreen. (Brussels, Lamertin, 1931, pp. viii, 440.) All stu-

dents and scholars will welcome the third edition of this most important bibliographical manuel. The second edition published in 1902 contains 270 pages while the new volume has as many as 440. Titles of books and articles that have appeared since 1902 are added. The list contains only indispensable titles, all others being omitted. The history of Belgium is so closely woven into that of other lands of Europe that this manual should have a place on every shelf beside the compilations of Gross, Dahlmann-Waitz, Molinier, Hauser, and Bourgeois. The titles deal with the political, social, religious, and economic history of the country. Those concerning the history of art for which Flemings and Walloons have been famous are omitted. But there must be limits and no one really has a right to expect all things between the covers of a book. Literature on the other hand is well represented. What is particularly pleasing is the accuracy with which titles and the necessary bibliographical data are given. The author had the able help of Dr. H. Obreen and Dr. H. Nowé, both excellent scholars. Professor Pirenne is to be congratulated on the completion of an arduous task which will long remain a standard achievement.

University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

International Adjudications, Ancient and Modern, History and Documents. Edited by John Bassett Moore. Modern Series, volume IV., *Compensation for Losses and Damages caused by the Violation of Neutral Rights, and by the Failure to perform Neutral Duties: Mixed Commission under Article VII. of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of November 19, 1794.* [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xxvi, 600, $2.50.) The questions of neutral rights and duties which came before this Anglo-American Mixed Commission of 1794 for adjudication recall the recent Anglo-American controversy when British cruisers, in disregard of international law, again seized American merchantmen bound for Continental ports. But when we later joined the Allies in repelling the still more serious assaults of Germany upon neutral rights, we took a leaf from the English book and the controversy was merged in the peace settlements.

This commission has, as the author indicates, another especial claim upon the interest of all students of international law and American history, in that it was the precursor—one might say "the direct and immediate progenitor"—of the great arbitration at Geneva, in regard to which Judge Moore remarks: "The final triumph of reason over impulse has rarely been so clearly exemplified as in the eventual disposition of the controversy by means of a judicial sentence"; and upon the work of the present commission the author passes the following judgment: "The proceedings of the

commission under Article VII. of the treaty of 1794 were characterized by unusual ability and learning. The opinions delivered were worthy of any tribunal that ever sat. All the members of the tribunal were men of high standing. The two commissioners appointed by the government of the United States were, by reason of their long detachment from activities and opportunities at home, compelled to undergo sacrifices which nothing but a high sense of public duty could have induced them to make; but, placing honor above emolument, they performed a service the remembrance of which should ever be cherished."

The interesting historical outline of the proceedings and decisions of the commission is made still more vivid by the genial personal touches of the author. Rarely has an authoritative statement of events so complicated been made so clear and readable. It is not alone the specialists in the field who will be grateful for this publication. Judge Moore makes evident the satisfaction he feels in rescuing from a partial oblivion the names and patriotic services of Christopher Gore and others who contributed to make this arbitral commission a milestone to mark the progress of arbitration as a practical method for the peaceful settlement of international differences.

American University. ELLERY C. STOWELL.

Readings in European International Relations since 1879. Selected and edited by W. Henry Cooke, Ph.D., and Edith P. Stickney, Assistant Professors of History, Pomona College. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931, pp. xxxiv, 1060, $4.00.) Here are a thousand pages covering international relations from the Dual Alliance of 1879 to the Lateran treaties and the Young Plan. The compilers have rigorously excluded everything which does not bear upon international relations, and have therefore covered a field different from that covered by Robinson and Beard's well-known volumes, or the more recent work of Scott and Baltzley. Within this field of international relations the book is a little library in itself. The editors, having at their disposal the vast treasure which Herbert Hoover has given to Stanford University, have packed an incredible amount of material between the covers of their book. If in the few instances here noted the reviewer's judgment would have differed from theirs, the divergence testifies rather to the vastness and complexity of the available documentation than to any lack of competence on their part.

In the treatment of the period from 1879 to 1914 the reviewer would have been tempted to leave out the Marschall memorandum of June 13, 1894, and to use the space for a few more documents on the Anglo-German alliance proposal of 1901. The well-known difference between Lansdowne's and Eckardstein's accounts of their March conversation offers a delightful problem to the student mind, and the material can be presented

in three pages. On the outbreak of the war it might have been possible to include some of the record of the Austrian council in which policy toward Serbia was defined, if space had been saved by leaving out the relatively unimportant Austro-British communications. The chapter on the Peace Conference could have been improved by making a more extensive use of the Miller Diary materials, particularly the materials on Poland. The editors have printed three documents on Poland, two of them being presentations of the Polish point of view. Available excerpts from the report of the commission on Polish frontiers and records of the Council of Four discussions would give the student a better idea of how the frontier was actually drawn and a clearer picture of the conflicting policies of the Allies. In the later chapters the reviewer would have suggested omitting something—possibly the Dariac report—in order to find a place for a document on the Irish settlement. These criticisms are trivial when set against the solid value of the work.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Europe and China: a Survey of their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800. By G. F. Hudson, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London, Edward Arnold and Company; New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 336, $5.50.) While several good accounts have been written of the relations between Europe and China during the last hundred and fifty years, this work by G. F. Hudson is the only comprehensive and up-to-date survey in English, which your reviewer has seen, of the less well-known, but equally important, period from the earliest times to 1800. His survey is concluded at the end of the eighteenth century, for "it closes the period during which the two worlds of culture confront each other intact and on approximately equal terms". Radical changes in European-Chinese relations appear during the nineteenth century.

A fundamental distinction between European and Chinese culture is found in the mercantile, republican, city-state tradition inherited from the ancient Greeks, as distinct from the conservative, agricultural, monarchical, country-state traditions of old China. The earliest reference to China in European literature is found in the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas in the sixth or seventh century B.C., who tells of the Hyperboreans. These are convincingly identified as the Chinese, who dwelt, not beyond the north wind, as Herodotus supposed, but in the far east beyond the severe winter winds of Central Asia. An interesting and connected narrative tells of many occasions during ancient, medieval, and early modern times on which both Europeans and Chinese reached out toward each other along the land routes of the silk caravans and across various seas until the successful all-sea voyages of the Portuguese around Africa. China, already withdrawn from an

influential position on the seas, and almost surrounded by the aggressive maritime powers along her coasts and by the Russians on her northern frontier, continued to maintain her strong position on land. Through the Jesuit missionaries at her court, certain Chinese ideas exerted "a greater effect on Europe than did the missionaries' religion on China".

Some of the new and suggestive theories offered by our author are: the possibility of the introduction into Europe by trade routes through Russia of the idea of printing by movable types; the great influence of the Genoese in stimulating Portugal's successful efforts to find a new route to the east; Columbus's lack of originality and of scientific information; and lastly the significance for the future of China's central emphasis on the study of man in society.

Colorado College. CARROLL B. MALONE.

S. M. le Roi Albert, Commandant en Chef devant l'Invasion Allemande. Par le Général Galet, Conseiller Militaire du Roi pendant la Guerre, Chef d'État-Major, Général de l'Armée Belge. Préface de S. M. le Roi Albert. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. 405, 30 fr.) The author of this account of King Albert's activities as commander in chief of the Belgian army was well equipped for the task. At maneuvers he instructed the king in the history and principles of war, and during the period covered by the volume he served as his military adviser. He had access to his own records, to the Belgian archives, to the personal papers of the king, and evidently has read many of the French, German, and English works dealing with this period.

The book begins with an account of the state of the Belgian army and ends with the successful defense of the Yser line. The king's efforts to increase the effectiveness of the army were frustrated by the apathy of the public, the parsimoniousness of parliament, and by the strong faith of certain members of the general staff in the doctrines of the French general staff, particularly in the efficacy of the *offensive brutale et à l'outrance.* Galet makes no pretenses about the state of the army in 1914; he shows it to be ill-trained, ill-disciplined, and ill-equipped.

He devotes the greater part of seven chapters to the defense and fall of Antwerp. King Albert was eager to sustain the defense, but with the memory of Bazaine at Metz in mind, he could not contemplate the investment of his field army in the fortress. Contact had to be maintained with the Allied armies or a line of retreat kept open toward France. Galet declares that Churchill's effort to prolong the resistance of Antwerp did not in the least influence the king's plans, but that he valued the intervention of the first lord of the admiralty and used his support against those who urged the premature evacuation of the fortress.

The three chapters on the Battle of the Yser should be read along with

the *Memoirs of Marshal Foch*. The relation of the king and the future generalissimo appear here in a somewhat new light. At the Yser the king demonstrated the utmost vigor and tenacity in the defense. Against the advice and influence of French and British generals he insisted on defending the last remaining part of his territory.

General Galet is a professional soldier, and does not, for the most part, give references for his voluminous quotations. Because of his personal and professional relationship to the king, one could hardly expect him to be overcritical. There are five maps, but unfortunately no index.

Denison University. H. A. De Weerd.

The Fall of the Kaiser. By Maurice Baumont, Docteur ès Lettres, University of Paris. Translated from the French by E. Ibbetson James. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. xiv, 256, $2.75.) The author of this volume has aimed to show "in what manner it would appear that William II.'s decision to abdicate was taken, at first for him and then by him". The discussion of the question of the abdication up to the evening of November 8, reveals clearly the contrast between the views of the civil leaders of Berlin, who believed that the emperor's abdication was absolutely essential in order to save the empire and the dynasty, and those of the military at G. H. Q., who approved and supported William II.'s decision to remain at his post. The second chapter is the most valuable part of the book and discusses "the Ninth of November at Spa". Here the author examines in detail the vicissitudes of that day: the morning conference with the emperor, Prince Max's noon message, the afternoon meeting in Hindenburg's quarters, the increasing tension in the army, and the final incident when, at 4:30 A. M., without any special signal the emperor's train moved off, two red lights on the last carriage being "the only indications to the few persons present that the Emperor was leaving Germany". The third chapter narrates the course of events at Berlin on the same day, showing the lack of understanding and coöperation between the G. H. Q. and the capital.

This work probably constitutes the most thorough discussion of the downfall of William II. that is to be found within the pages of a single volume. It is based upon a careful examination of memoirs, memoranda, letters, reports, notes, and diaries of high German officials—military and civil—many of whom were close associates and intimate advisers of the emperor. The information from these sources is further supplemented by evidence given before the Reichstag Committee of Enquiry in 1923 and in the Munich trial of 1925. The author brought to his task, it would appear, little of that bias or hatred which sometimes beclouds one's judgment. The translation is well done.

Indiana University. F. Lee Benns.

Archives of British Honduras. Volume I., *From the Earliest Date to A. D. 1800.* Edited, with Historical Note, by Major Sir John Alder Burdon, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Honduras. [Published by Authority of the Governor in Council on behalf of the West India Committee.] (London, Sifton, Praed and Company, 1931, pp. xv, 304.) The British Caribbean is to-day one of the most popular fields of research in colonial history. The great amount of interest evinced in the past of the possessions located there occasions no surprise when it is recalled that, for more than two centuries, they constituted the most highly valued portion of the motherland's far-flung empire and that innumerable knotty problems arising out of Anglo-Saxon expansion were first encountered and solved in them.

Attention has been centered on the sugar islands and an imposing array of bibliographical works, archival guides, and monographs affords ample evidence of the enthusiastic activities of both American and British students of imperial history in unfolding the fascinating tale of their amazing development and later spectacular crash to ruin. Now, as the opportunity for original investigation there has lessened, Guiana and Honduras, on the mainland, are much in vogue.

This catalogue of documents relative to the logwood colony is the work of the present governor and a group of officials, two of whom perished in the 1931 hurricane. It was prepared through their own keen interest in the dependency's history and a natural desire to promote its serious study. Despite a disarming avowal that they are wholly untrained in such labors and a modest craving for indulgence on the part of scholars, their volume betrays no signs of amateurishness save the antiquated use of symbols in footnote references and a method of listing titles which is distinctly individual. It is sponsored by the West India Committee of London, that ardent supporter of Caribbean causes for nearly two hundred years, and will inevitably attract large numbers of investigators, to whom it will be of incalculable service.

Scores of Public Record Office and British Museum papers and a large number of local documents have been calendared carefully. The latter, consisting of court and magistrate records, Mosquito Shore correspondence, and Burnaby's Laws have thus become available for the first time and will shatter many myths concerning the turbulent early days, Anglo-Spanish controversies on the spot, and relations with Jamaica and Great Britain.

The carefully annotated historical survey is the best extant. Four of the five excellent maps are contemporary eighteenth century ones. The chronology and list of governors and superintendents are of great convenience. The index, typically British, falls short of the American standard.

A second volume will appear at an early date.

George Washington University. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris. By Waldo G. Leland. Vol. I., *Libraries.* (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932, pp. xi, 343, $3.00.) Another Carnegie Institution guide, of the series started twenty-five years ago by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, so many years director of the historical division, is an achievement and an event. So universal is the confidence of historical scholars in the publications of this program that any reviewer at the outset would anticipate nothing but praise to say. Anticipations are not mistaken in this instance of Waldo G. Leland's long-awaited guide to Paris libraries. In fact anticipation is scarcely the correct word here, for this reviewer some years ago was privileged to make use of the guide, then in galley proof, in blocking out material for photostating for the collection of the Library of Congress. He wished then that he had the companion volumes (on Paris archives), the preparation of which is still lingering, but promised in the preface of the volume at hand, and which are needed even more than the guide for American material in Paris libraries—which after all are catalogued, if not specifically as regards American material. The institutions covered in this volume I. are: Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Médecine, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, Bibliothèque du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Bibliothèque Municipale du 16^{me} Arrondissement, Bibliothèque du Sénat, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Bibliothèque Victor Cousin (Sorbonne). In each case the manuscript material relating to the area now comprised within the United States and Canada—with many references also to Mexico and the West Indies—is scrupulously noted, with adequate descriptions to earmark its contents, and the required call numbers. A voluminous index makes the mass workable. Short analyses of the major collections, in which occur the manuscripts noted, appraise the general value of the groups for the scholar. This guide will be an eagerly-sought handbook for American historical scholars who use Paris libraries henceforward. More than that, it will be a guide for investigators into the photostatic facsimiles in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress; for practically all the American manuscript material in Paris libraries has now been duplicated for that national library in Washington.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

The Development of American Political Thought: a Documentary History. By J. Mark Jacobson, Ph.D., Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin. [The Century Political Science Series.] (New York, Century Company, 1932, pp. xiv, 723, $5.00.) Here is a volume compact with valuable material. There are eight chapters: Puritanism;

the American Revolution; Federalism; Democracy, Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, Intellectual; Slavery; Particularism versus Nationalism; Government and Economic Institutions; and "America of Age". The larger part of the volume is documentary, containing selections from such contributors to American political thought as the author deems of sufficient importance. Each group of selections is introduced with a suggestive essay summarizing and interpreting the various periods under review. The combination makes the volume one of distinct value to the student of American history and political science. In the author's essays many influential writers are recognized who are not represented in the documentary material.

New England Puritanism finds its forerunner in Calvin and his *Institutes,* its spokesmen in Cotton Mather, Thomas Hooker, and Roger Williams. Jonathan Edwards is entirely omitted, and Benjamin Franklin, though not a Puritan, deserves some place in our colonial thought. He finds none here, and but little in the period of the Revolution. In the author's analysis of the slavery controversy no place is open for Birney and the Liberty party, and Lincoln is too closely identified with the Free-Soilers. The apologists for slavery (Calhoun, Dew, Harper) are given equal space with its assailants (Garrison, Channing, Wayland). The historical argument for particularism and state sovereignty is ably presented. In the struggle following the Civil War between the policies of *laissez faire* and a larger social control of political forces, we have the thought and teaching of Professor William Graham Sumner set forth as against the newer school of economics, politics, sociology, and law, represented by writers like R. T. Ely, E. A. Ross, Woodrow Wilson, and Roscoe Pound. In the final chapter the compiler presents materials including, among others, Wilson's Fourteen Points, Professor Shotwell's War as an Instrument of National Policy, and copious extracts from Everett Dean Martin on public opinion.

The author claims that the framers of the Constitution intended to give the Supreme Court a check on Congressional legislation. He calls John Marshall "a politician rather than a jurist", and he puts the Whiskey Rebellion in *eastern* Pennsylvania. If these are flaws they are quite minor and do not detract from the great usefulness of the volume.

Ann Arbor. JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Dialogues Curieux entre l'Auteur et un Sauvage de Bon Sens qui a voyagé et Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par Baron de Lahontan. Publiés par Gilbert Chinard, Professeur à l'Université Johns Hopkins. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. 268, $4.00.) In this reproduction of the writings of the famous seventeenth century traveler in North America, Professor Chinard wishes to show him as the precursor of Old World ideas rather than as the discoverer of New World lakes and rivers.

Thus it is his descriptions of Indian life and customs and especially his vivid picture of the charms of living without laws or government that his editor here republishes. The introduction, which constitutes a fourth of this volume, is a carefully wrought treatise on the influence of Lahontan's work on the thinkers of the eighteenth century. After a brief recapitulation of the facts of Lahontan's career, and a characterization of him as a mediocre adventurer, turbulent and rebellious, lacking in courage and in the virtues of his time, Professor Chinard proceeds to show that Lahontan was very influential in developing the picture of the "natural man" so fondly regarded by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Lahontan in his *Dialogues* produced not only a mordant and effective criticism of all the institutions of contemporary Europe, but he also showed Adario as a noble savage, endowed with good sense and with a broad comprehension of basic morals—living in the forests of America the good life. Professor Chinard traces the influence of this picture of primitive virtue upon contemporary philosophers like Leibnitz; upon the English *littérateurs*—such as Addison, Steele, and preëminently Swift; and upon the French philosophers—Le Sage, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Chateaubriand. Thus he considers Lahontan's *Dialogues* and *Mémoires* essential to the history of philosophical thought in the eighteenth century, and a source that has been somewhat neglected for the doctrine of primitivism.

No recent editions of Lahontan have appeared in France; the editor notes in passing that the English edition of 1703, which he considers the first printing of the *Dialogues,* was reëdited in 1905 by Reuben G. Thwaites. It is not, however, this first form of the *Dialogues* that Professor Chinard gives us, but that retouched by the unfrocked monk Gueudeville, and issued in 1705 at The Hague.

The format of this volume is unusually beautiful; it is printed on fine paper with an excellent type, illustrated by superb reproductions of Lahontan's original engravings, has a good index and a fine binding. The reviewer thinks that Professor Chinard has produced a very scholarly and useful contribution to the history of philosophical thought and given the Baron de Lahontan a new rank in the world of letters.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Louise Phelps Kellogg.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for Publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick, Director and State Historian. Volume VII. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1931, pp. xiii, 1160, $2.50.) Historical students are again under heavy obligation to the state of New York for making possible the continuation of the publication of the papers of Sir William Johnson, and to the compilers and editors for the production of this seventh installment. The work

of salvaging many hundreds of damaged pieces has been long and arduous. The preparation of historical documents for publication is difficult under favorable conditions, but the responsibility of editing materials which have been partially destroyed and of filling gaps from other sources requires great skill and patience.

But the volume is more than a mere illustration of skill. Like its predecessors, reviewed in this journal (XXVIII. 758–760; XXXI. 584–585; XXXIII. 191–192; XXXIV. 393–394), it furnishes to scholars a storehouse of information. The documents cover the period from May, 1769, to February, 1771, important though little known years in the history of Indian relations. There are printed approximately eight hundred and forty-five papers, of which one hundred have been drawn from other sources, such as the Public Record Office, the Library of Congress and the libraries of Harvard University, the American Antiquarian Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Some fifty-four items are listed as having been totally destroyed, but twenty-eight of these are noted as printed in various documentary collections. Of the 745 papers drawn from the Johnson collection in Albany, slightly more than 450 are more or less damaged. In some instances but little remains of the original document.

The relations of the western and northern Indians to each other and to the white race continue, as heretofore, to be the central theme. Such subjects as the maintenance of peaceful relations, Indian trade, land grants, finance, boundary questions, and missionary activities, are prominent. Scholars will also find much of value relating to provincial politics and imperial relations.

People great and small are Sir William Johnson's correspondents. One hundred and eighteen names appear as writers or as recipients of letters. Representative of the higher official class in the correspondence are Lord Hillsborough, General Thomas Gage, Governors Penn, Carleton, Colden, and Moore, and among subordinate Indian officials whose names figure prominently are George Croghan, Alexander McKee, and Daniel Claus. Johnson also conducted an extensive correspondence with merchants, lawyers, and ministers of religion.

One notes with regret the absence of an index.

Washington, D. C. CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Thomas Sumter. By Anne King Gregorie, Ph.D. (Columbia, R. L. Bryan Company, 1931, pp. 313.) Miss Gregorie's *Sumter* tells the story of a typical American of the Revolutionary and early national period who rose from humble origin by sheer forceful merit. This ambitious, Virginia-born South Carolinian reminds one of Andrew Jackson, in face, character, and career, although "Old Hickory" would have made a poor show in bodily

combat with the larger edition of frontiersman, who at the age of seventy vaulted into the saddle without the aid of stirrup, and at the age of eighty-six was sued in that he "did beat, wound, and ill treat" a fellow citizen. In a manner thoroughly frank and judicious Miss Gregorie pictures Sumter as land-speculating frontiersman, soldier, and politician who made a powerful appeal to the yeomanry back of the cultured coast belt because he was so thoroughly of that yeomanry. Of the merits of the quarrels and jealousies of various leaders she leaves the reader to judge. The same impartiality she extends to the Tories and British. The stark savagery of both sides is presented without apology or railing.

Miss Gregorie traces with clearness the rapid movement of the campaigns in which General Sumter played one principal part and General Greene the other on the American side. Without inclining the scales to her subject she depicts the calm insubordination of Sumter and Greene's sensible adjustment to circumstances which he could not control. Sumter was distinctly the soldier. In no other of his activities was he eminently successful, beyond the success of almost continuous election to one or other of the two branches of Congress. He was always aggressive, even to the extent of living a life of lawsuits when he was not living a life of arms. Miss Gregorie brings out his power of drawing men to him by his personal influence when there was no legal organization on which he could depend; his quickness of perception and his vigor of attack, and at the same time his power of forming widely extended plans.

Such errors as have slipped in are aside from the main theme, as, placing the Jacksonborough Assembly in 1781 instead of 1782, or mislocating the Indian village of Burningtown (in which she may have been misled by a diarist whose work I have not seen). The failure to distinguish between South Carolina "currency", proclamation money (five times the value of "currency"), and pounds sterling (seven times the value of "currency") is misleading, as it magnifies small possessions into an apparent fortune.

General Sumter has waited long; but he has now been presented in a scholarly, judicious, and thoroughly human biography.

Wofford College. D. D. WALLACE.

Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789–1816. By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Furman University, sometime Instructor in History, University of North Carolina. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 344.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 257, $4.25.) In miniature, national politics unfold through the pages of Dr. Gilpatrick's study of a dominant agrarian democracy in its fight against an aggressive commercial minority. Nascent Republicans, controlling the state from 1789 to 1796, fought

steadily the invasions of the central government until the threat of war gave them a wiser appreciation of Federal strength. As a result Federalism triumphed for four years, but the election of 1800 marked the return of the Republicans to power, who thereafter, only slightly hampered by the four Federalist districts, managed the affairs of the state in the interests of the small farmer. The War of 1812 did not divide the Republicans sufficiently to permit important Federalist victories, though in 1815 they carried seventy-nine seats in a legislature of two hundred members.

Dr. Gilpatrick has made a thorough study of the state records and offers a contribution of value to our knowledge of the period, a contribution largely in the careful detail with which he has traced the outward workings of Jeffersonian democracy. The inner workings are still obscure. We are uninformed of the manner in which the Macon-Jefferson machine was organized; its activities are only vaguely traceable in the straightforward account of measures and elections. No effort is made to discover Jefferson's influence in the election of 1800; the account implies that the defeat of the Federalists was the result of the natural reversion to Republicanism that peace would bring. Macon's interference in the Halifax Congressional election of 1803 is passed over without mention. On the other hand, the book is free from minor errors. Without further evidence, however, the statement should not have been made that the North Carolina delegates defeated assumption in April, 1790 (p. 45). The style is clear and happily without irritating mannerisms.

Agnes Scott College. PHILIP G. DAVIDSON.

Forgotten Frontiers: a Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777–1787. From the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. Translated into English, edited, and annotated by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932, pp. xvii, 420, $5.00.) *Forgotten Frontiers* adds a chapter to the biography of Juan Bautista de Anza, whose California career is so fascinatingly portrayed in Professor Bolton's monumental work. In New Mexico, Anza was again an explorer opening a new and better route to Sonora, but his efforts were chiefly directed toward Indian control. At Yuma and elsewhere along his California trail he had shown special aptitude for dealing with Indians; now in New Mexico he proved himself a master hand. After reorganizing the colony's defenses, he proceeded to a vigorous campaign in the Pikes Peak region culminating in a decisive defeat for the Comanches. He saved the Moqui from extermination and brought the Navajos to terms. But his most brilliant exploit was the alliance with the chastened Comanches, which made possible the subjugation of the Gila Apaches and added security along New Spain's entire northern frontier.

Professor Thomas unfolds this story through excellent translations of six diaries and related correspondence, practically all of which are here made available for the first time. Of greatest interest is Father Morfi's hitherto unknown description of New Mexico in 1782, its population, climate, geographical features, resources, Pueblo and Spanish settlements. Morfi's word picture is supplemented by a contemporary map by Miera y Pacheco, not to mention reproductions of two other maps, a Comanche document, and a sketch showing the Anza routes.

The book's alliterative title suggests a popularized account, but the reader will not find it. The translations follow the originals closely and have not been distorted in an effort to polish their literary style. Although praiseworthy in the translations, this subordination of literary style detracts from the value of the historical introduction and makes for hard reading. Phrased clearly, this sketch of the background and significance of Anza's Indian policy in New Mexico would have been a thrilling narrative.

Besides illustrating the reinvigoration of the Spanish borderlands during the later eighteenth century, and the part Anza played in the process along with such men as Bucareli, Neve, Croix, De Mézières, and Bernardo de Gálvez, this volume has a wealth of ethnological information. It is appropriate, as well as welcome, as the first of a series by the University of Oklahoma Press on the Civilization of the American Indian.

University of California at Los Angeles. JOHN CAUGHEY.

American Relations with Turkey, 1830–1930: an Economic Interpretation. By Leland James Gordon, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Denison University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932, pp. xv, 402, $4.00.) This book, as the author explains, is "written primarily as a study of economic relations". Part I. deals with the background of the commerce of Turkey and America and surveys the political developments of the century under observation. Part II. discusses the "romance of trade", takes up the early aspects of Turco-American commerce, and traces its development through the twentieth century. Part III. discusses the American struggle with England, France, and Germany to enter Ottoman trade, the question of railway development, the well-known Chester project, and the tariff issue. Part IV. includes a fine chapter on "America's good will investment in Turkey"—the missionary enterprise, with its colleges and other establishments, involving our largest investment. Two good chapters tell the story of "the open door versus imperialism". Part V. is devoted to the treatment of the movement of peoples, and points out that something like 370,000 people came from Turkey to the United States between 1905 and 1915. Of these only five per cent. were Turkish, the rest being largely Greek, Armenian, and Syrian. The final section consists of a summary and pertinent conclusions. The author notes that the United States has

assumed second place as an importer of Turkish goods—tobacco, fruits, nuts, and rugs—but ranks seventh as an exporter to that country.

While the author has used much unpublished material, particularly obtained in the American embassy at Istanbul, his work is not without its weaknesses. In the reviewer's opinion the organization of the book makes the treatment of various subjects somewhat fragmentary. The volume is not free from typographical errors, and the author is inclined to be somewhat repetitious. His treatment of the Chester project and of the Lausanne Conference raises some questions as to American policy and the "open door" in Turkey and the Near East. Perhaps most serious of all is his apparent failure to utilize such important sources as D. H. Miller's *My Diary at the Conference of Paris, with Documents,* and the six volumes which the French government has published on the Conference of Lausanne, both of which throw considerable light on the political and economic aspects of American policy. But these weaknesses and omissions should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Mr. Gordon has made a substantial and important contribution not only to the study of Turco-American relations, but to that of the Turkish question itself.

Miami University. HARRY N. HOWARD.

Frontier Life in the Army, 1854–1861. By Eugene Bandel. Translated by Olga Bandel, and Richard Jente, Associate Professor of German, Washington University. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber, Associate Professor of History, Washington University. [The Southwest Historical Series, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, no. II.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932, pp. 330, $6.00.) The letters and journal of Eugene Bandel, who marched six thousand miles over the West, fought Indians, took part in the military demonstrations against the Mormons, helped to survey the Kansas boundary, and finally settled in a California arsenal, form the volume which Professor Bieber has edited and entitled *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854–1861.* The title promises too much. If the reader looks for a well-balanced account of frontier life in the army, he will be disappointed. The author has simply presented the journal and letters of a soldier of very limited experience. Bandel engaged in hardly any fighting, merely a short campaign against the Sioux Indians and a fruitless expedition into the Mojave country. Furthermore he was by temperament utterly opposed to the military life and the crude conditions of the frontier which he described.

Still, his writings illuminate considerably the varied activity of the American army on the frontier. His descriptions apply almost entirely to the infantry, which was the least effective fighting instrument on the Western plains. Bandel's portrayal of the American infantry as transformed by frontier environment is anything but romantic—a collection of ragamuffins without a semblance of uniform, a rough familiarity between officers and

privates, and the life of the common soldier vibrating between stupid leisure and the most violent physical exertion and hardships. His letters are interspersed with intimate glimpses of the infantry in action, chastising the Indians, protecting the overland mail, establishing forts, surveying boundaries, and making possible the expansion of population into the Southwest.

Bandel was an educated man and he recorded his observations with the definite purpose of preserving them for posterity. His letters and journals accordingly contain pictures of characteristic Western scenes, buffalo-hunting, mushroom towns, the homesteader building his log house, and the habits of certain Indian tribes. Much of this material is a twice-told story, but Bandel's racy style and his careful accuracy make it interesting.

The editing of the volume is excellent. A short introduction furnishes valuable data for understanding the narrative. The editor has made an extensive use of government documents, manuscripts in the Indian Office, Western newspapers, and parallel diaries.

Lafayette College. W. Clement Eaton.

Hudson's Bay Company. By Robert E. Pinkerton. Introduction by Stewart Edward White. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 357, $3.50.) Many books have been written concerning the Hudson's Bay Company but no one of them can in any sense be regarded as a definitive history of the organization. One reason, of course, is that the basic sources have until very recently been inaccessible to the public. Mr. Pinkerton's volume makes no pretensions to scholarship in the conventional sense of the word. There are almost no specific citations of authorities, no index, and even chapter titles are lacking. It is apparent, however, from the very interesting bibliographical chapter at the end, and from many allusions in the text, that the author has studied the literature of his subject, including certain unpublished sources, with a good deal of care, and certainly from a critical viewpoint. Equally significant, perhaps, is the fact that he writes as one who has himself dwelt in the region which is to-day the scene of operations of the "Great Company".

In addition to presenting a narrative of events, Mr. Pinkerton raises some extremely controversial issues with respect to the history of the company. He has strong prejudices, and one feels that a great deal of scholarly research will ultimately be necessary in order to determine whether he is right or wrong. His thesis, in brief, is as follows. The history of the Hudson's Bay Company has been uniformly misunderstood and much of legend has grown up about it. During the first century and a half of its history it was stupidly managed and accomplished little worth while in the way of commerce, exploration, or extension of British influence. The turning point came with the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in 1821, when the Scotch "thunderbolts" from Montreal became

the dominant influence in the Hudson's Bay organization. From then on, Mr. Pinkerton's attitude toward the company is one of the highest praise, because the character of the concern had been totally transformed. He displays enthusiasm throughout for the methods and achievements of the Scotch merchants of the North West Company.

The book is interestingly written and contains many original suggestions. The author is a firm believer in monopoly and holds competition to have been the curse of the fur trade. There are accounts of the activities of famous explorers connected with the company from Radisson down. Certain chapters contain valuable descriptions of the methods of the fur trade which reflect the writer's own experience in the northern wilderness. Though its conclusions may sometimes be open to question, it is certain that any future student of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company will do well to read this stimulating, if somewhat unconventional, volume.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones DeRenne Georgia Library at Wormsloe, Isle of Hope near Savannah, Georgia. Three volumes. (Wormsloe, privately printed, 1931, pp. xxxiii, 448; x, 449–895; ix, 897–1396, $100.) Descending from Noble Jones, companion of Oglethorpe, the DeRennes have not only retained his country seat but have made its name Wormsloe celebrated among those concerned with Georgia history. Two or three generations ago George Wymberley Jones DeRenne assembled a notable collection of Georgiana in that mansion, and from it issued a superb series of privately printed quartos embodying salient Georgia materials. Vicissitudes, including a raid by some of Sherman's men, destroyed or dispersed that library; and not even a quarto copy remained as a nucleus when Wymberley Jones DeRenne of the next generation, after many years in distant lands, took up residence at Wormsloe a decade before the nineteenth century's end. He nevertheless fell into the ways of his father and began to collect Georgia materials anew, sparing neither zeal nor money and erecting a fire-proof temple under the moss-draped liveoaks to house his treasures. To his two tables, the one enriched from an ancestral cellar of sherries and madeiras, the other laden at command with manuscripts and rare pamphlets, he welcomed friends and students, as I can warmly testify; and to make his possessions better known to the historical craft he printed two catalogues of his growing library. The technique of these did not content him, and he died with a purpose of a thorough, collated catalogue unattained.

His children, cherishing the library and their father's memory, have now put into print this monumental issue. Thanks largely to Mr. Leonard L. Mackall's enthusiastic and expert services, it is elaborate in the details dear to bibliographers; and it is adorned with many rare title-pages in re-

production. As a catalogue, it leaves nothing to be desired unless it be the price of a hundred dollars at which sets are for sale. To an historian, however, it may be more tantalizing; for its extremely copious listing of books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts makes one hanker for not a mere visit but a sojourn at Wormsloe where these riches of print and pen very safely but remotely wait on their shelves.

Yale University. ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

History and Theory of Agricultural Credit in the United States. By Earl Sylvester Sparks, Ph.D., Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Director of the School of Business Administration, Professor of Economics, University of South Dakota. With a Foreword by Thomas N. Carver, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932, pp. xiii, 476, $3.75.) This book is mainly a history of agricultural credit systems in the United States. It is divided into six parts. In the first part the "flow of capital into frontier agriculture" and the rôle of the merchant in financing agriculture are described. The next two parts trace the evolution of land banks and other sources of mortgage credit from colonial times to the present. Part IV. describes the evolution of commercial banks and theories of banking. Part V. surveys intermediate credit institutions and the activities of the Federal Farm Board. Part VI. is a summary of conclusions.

The author has emphasized certain phases of agricultural credit and neglected others. Detailed consideration is given the structure and operating methods both of early and modern agricultural credit institutions; the ancestry of modern institutions is traced to colonial times; commercial banking experiments and theories of banking receive much discussion; and the experiments of governmental units with loans to farmers are described. Little is said, however, of the vast changes in agricultural production, markets, and prices, which have had such an important bearing on farmers' demands for credit and their ability either to use credit profitably or to carry debt burdens. Virtually no account is taken of the differences in farm credit requirements and banking practice that grow out of the various types of agriculture.

Subject to these omissions, the book is a well-organized historical account of the long succession of experiments in the United States with various systems of agricultural credit, and it tells what the public has thought, from time to time, about its financial institutions. Much of this story was already available in financial and economic histories, but the author has added new detail and has combined the various threads of the story so that they now are available in one volume. Unfortunately the author has seldom attempted to give new meaning to events of the past but generally is content to record the views of preceding historians. More stress is placed on

the general monetary results of given agricultural credit systems than on their specific relation to the welfare of farmers.

The book adds little to the theory either of money or agricultural credit. Monetary theory has an important place in the book, but it consists mainly of the views of others. Singularly, the author has not closely related farm credit problems to the major price movements. Attention is directed chiefly to that phase of monetary theory dealing with depreciated currencies. The author does not show intimate acquaintance with the problems of farmers and their financial institutions, and hence develops no comprehensive philosophy on this subject.

Department of Agriculture. FRED L. GARLOCK.

COMMUNICATION

To the Editor of the *American Historical Review:*

Although deeply appreciative of the commendatory paragraph of Dr. F. S. Rodkey's review of *England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844–1856,* in the April number, it might not be inappropriate to make some observations on certain points in the concluding paragraph. I might not take exception to the vigorous expressions in opposition to a few of the sentences in the book provided proof and not merely personal opinions were forthcoming. The method of the reviewer is to be regretted, particularly in reference to the value of Goriainov. It is only fair to state that I checked him for all the important points used through numerous British and other documentary sources (as cited) and found nothing fundamentally wrong. To illustrate, the example raised in the review may be employed: In 1908 A. M. Zaïonchkovskii (unnoticed by the reviewer, Puryear, p. 3) published several important documents from the Russian archives on the making of the secret Anglo-Russian agreement of 1844, including the ministerial letters of acceptance of the Nesselrode memorandum of that year; in 1912 S. M. Goriainov published an English version of some of these documents and excerpts from others (not merely a "thesis"). Careful comparisons which I made with the original publication revealed no inaccuracies, while on the British side, for example, Aberdeen in 1854 publicly admitted that he had subscribed to the memorandum (p. 73). There apparently is no basis, therefore, for the unique conclusion of unsoundness of the former Russian state archivist, particularly as regards the agreement of 1844. As is well known, Goriainov is indispensable in any treatment of the Straits Question in the nineteenth century. He is accepted by scores of noted scholars; I shall continue to accept his principal contributions until he is found in fundamental error. Being drawn to proof, furthermore, by the reviewer's statement that the ministerial letters "prove something quite different", *i.e.,* that they did not "give official confirmation to what was contained in the Nesselrode Memorandum", the latter having been a résumé of the verbal agreement in 1844 (pp. 51, 72–73), it is only necessary to refer to the memorandum and to the following from the letters: Nesse'rode stated that "the principles which [his memorandum] establishes will be the most certain guide as to the course we [the ministers of Russia and England] are to follow in common in eastern affairs"; Aberdeen, the responsible minister concerned, in a well-considered reply (even after British relations with France, strained at the time of the making of the agreement, p. 42, had improved perceptibly, p. 61), found that "no differences exist respecting the accuracy of your statement, to which I already

had borne my humble testimony" (pp. 72, 442, 443–444). Perhaps the reviewer has confused the original agreement with its subsequent fluctuations which attended British cabinet changes, as treated in great detail in chapters III. and IV. The language of these documents is quite clear, and this writer is unable to accept the only other alternative, an assessment against the British of outright deception of Russia in 1844.

It is surprising to find in the only statement offered as proof that the reviewer passed over the bulk of the evidence respecting the making and history of the agreement and attacked it on constitutional grounds. The merit of the review on this point may be judged from the fact that the very document used to bolster the criticism was misapplied. As published by the reviewer himself (see *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXXVI. 346), Palmerston in 1841 officially stated to Russia: "But, if the engagement were merely verbal, *though it would bind the Ministers who made it,*[1] it might be disavowed by their successors; and thus the Russian Government might be led to count upon a system of policy on the part of Great Britain which might not eventually be pursued." In three chapters I recounted an episode in which these principles were applied, asserting repeatedly the identical constitutional attributes here indicated: "The agreement was secret and verbal" (p. 2); "no written alliance was formulated" (p. 52); "the agreement arranged was oral, and hence subject to interpretations later of quite varied types . . cabinet changes in Great Britain might alter or nullify the engagements taken" (p. 53); "the major responsibility continued to be borne by Lord Aberdeen" (p. 72); "Aberdeen's obligation was personal" (p. 73); "the Anglo-Russian agreement was made during a conservative administration . . . it ran the chance of being disputed, however, if the policy of the cabinet should change when the liberals returned to power" (p. 143). It would thus appear that this treatment of the constitutional question, also emphasized in the preface (p. xiii), is well supported by Palmerston's contemporary interpretation. The failure of the reviewer to cite the applicable section of the document he published, no doubt an oversight, accounts for the untenable conclusion drawn.

Albany College. VERNON J. PURYEAR.

[1] The italics are mine.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Toronto, Canada, on December 27, 28, and 29. All sessions will be held at the University of Toronto. The University is amply provided with residences for the accommodation of both men and women. One of the residences will be reserved for married couples. Meals including the special luncheons and dinners on the program will be provided at Hart House where common rooms and other social facilities will be placed at the disposal of the Association.

Those who wish to take advantage of the accommodation available in the residences will be asked to make reservation and payment in advance in order that the number to be provided for may be known to the university authorities. It is expected that the charge per person for rooms, meals, and other facilities including the registration fee of the Association will not exceed $12.00. For those who avail themselves of this arrangement an incidental advantage will be the elimination of delay in making registrations, reservations for luncheons, etc. Detailed information will be provided as usual with the regular program. If further information is desired before that time inquiries may be addressed to Professor George W. Brown, secretary of the local arrangements committee, Baldwin House, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

The chairman of the program committee is Professor Chester Martin of the University of Toronto. Regular sections of the Association are being arranged as follows: Ancient History (Round Table Discussion on Economic History of the Ancient World), Medieval History, Renaissance and Reformation, United States (Colonial Period), United States (A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis), United States (The Twentieth Century), Modern Europe, British History, The Far East, Economic History, Diplomatic History, Hispanic America, The British Commonwealth, Graduate Studies, and Public Archives. Sections will be limited where possible to two papers in order to admit of adequate discussion. There will be joint sessions also with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Canadian Historical Association, and several other societies. An exhibit is being arranged for the occasion by the Public Archives of Canada. The business meeting will be held on the afternoon of the second day following a general luncheon at Hart House. The program

will include a smoker and an afternoon reception. On December 27 the Association and affiliated groups will be guests of the University of Toronto at dinner in the great hall at Hart House. Special dinners and luncheon conferences are being arranged as usual for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and other organizations meeting with the Historical Association.

The report of the committee of the Association on the Planning of Research, of which Professor A. M. Schlesinger is chairman, is embodied in a volume entitled *Historical Scholarship in America, Needs and Opportunities* (Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, pp. viii, 146, $1.50). It will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN WARSAW

The international committee charged with the organization of the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Warsaw in August, 1933, has set December 1 next, as the final date for receiving titles of papers that are to be included in the program. Since all papers must be offered through the various national committees it is important that scholars in the United States who wish to take part in the program of the congress should submit, not later than November 15 to the offices of the American Historical Association, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., the titles of the papers that they propose to offer.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the International Union of Academies was held in Brussels on May 23–26, 1932. The American Council of Learned Societies was represented by Messrs. W. G. Leland, Berthold L. Ullman, George Lacombe, and David Stevens. Unanimous agreement was reached respecting the form of a proposed amendment to the statutes of the Union, to be voted on at the next meeting, which will make it possible, exceptionally, and in the interests of the Union's activities, to hold the annual meetings elsewhere than in Brussels, upon invitation from an affiliated Academy. Gratifying progress was reported in most of the undertakings of the Union. Those in which the American Council of Learned Societies is most actively participating are the following: corpus of ancient vases, collection of material relating to Indonesian customary law, dictionary of medieval Latin, catalogue of current bibliographies in the humanities, corpus of medieval philosophers (catalogue of manuscript Latin translations of Aristotle), and paleographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to 800 A. D. A new project taken under the auspices of the Union is the publication of a concordance and index to the books of the canonical Mohammedan tradition.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

The International Committee of Historical Sciences held its sixth annual meeting at The Hague on July 4–6, 1932. Thirty countries were represented, and one new country, Egypt, was admitted to representation, bringing the total number of countries affiliated with the committee to forty. The delegates of the United States were Mr. Waldo G. Leland and Mgr. George Lacombe.

The report of the treasurer showed total receipts in 1931 of $10,669.62, and expenditures of $7432.62. The latter were distributed as follows: annual meeting, $1250; secretariat, $2400; treasurer's office, $15.75; *Bulletin*, $1706.87; *Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*, $1000; expenses of committees, $1060. The treasurer also reported that since the organization of the International Committee in 1926, the direct contributions to its support, in addition to subventions from the Rockefeller Foundation, had amounted to $7602, while indirect contributions, that is, expenditures incurred on behalf of committee activities in the various affiliated countries, had exceeded $25,000.

Satisfactory progress was reported on most of the projects under way, a standing Committee on Historical Geography was established, and exterior commissions or groups were authorized on the Vatican archives and on colonial history.

The following declaration was unanimously adopted:

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, convinced that absolute freedom of research, achieved in principle during the past century, is an imperative condition of continued progress in science and letters, and having observed that the political, economic, and social conflicts of the present time tend to restrict this freedom, appeals to the governments of all civilized countries with the plea that they maintain in its entirety the freedom of research and of investigation, inasmuch as truth, which is the object of all scientific work, can result only from the varied efforts and investigations of different men.

The hospitable arrangements made for the meeting by the Dutch committee (Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, chairman, Dr. N. B. Tenhaeff, secretary) were highly appreciated, and made the meeting one of the pleasantest in the history of the Committee. The seventh annual meeting will be held in conjunction with the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw, in 1933.

PERSONAL

Carl Russell Fish, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin, died suddenly, in the midst of Summer Session teaching—in harness, as was his wish—on July 10 at the age of 55. He took his A.B. at Brown in 1897 and his doctorate at Harvard in 1900. He was at once called to Wisconsin by Professor F. J. Turner and remained steadily on its staff until the close

of his life. His scholarly production began with the *Civil Service and the Patronage* (1904) and was continued with the *Guide to Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (1911), which he prepared in Italy as research associate of the Carnegie Institution, and with his well-known college textbook, *The Development of American Nationality* (1913); then, for some years his publication turned to diplomatic and social history; and at the time of his death he was well advanced in his book on the Civil War, which for a considerable period has formed the center of his productive and teaching interests. His reputation as a brilliant and engaging teacher and speaker was widespread. His vivid and spirited personality, his wit and dauntlessness, even his cherished eccentricities, endeared him to students, colleagues, and public. He loved the Middle West as the most truly American part of the country and the Middle West responded with its affection. The editor of the Madison *Capital Times,* a former student, in the course of a touching editorial appraisal, well expressed that regard:

> His life, like the history he wrote, was one long research into the "usable past", the beautiful past, the enlightening past. Upon such wisdom he reared the superstructure of a more glorious future. But so woven into the texture of his actions and thoughts was his personal philosophy and natural affability that his span on earth was an integrated monument and, for us, his students, an inspiring example. G. C. S.

Walter Lynwood Fleming died on August 3 at the age of 58. He took his doctorate in Columbia in 1904. For a year he had been professor of history in West Virginia University, and he remained there until 1907, when he accepted a similar chair at the University of Louisiana. In 1917 he became professor of history in Vanderbilt University. Six years later he was also appointed dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and director of the Graduate School. Ill health after 1928 compelled him to retire from a part of his activities. As a student and writer he held a leading position in the investigation of different phases of the Reconstruction period. Among his works were: *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905); *Documentary History of Reconstruction,* 2 vols. (1906, 1907); *The Sequel of Appomattox: a Chronicle of the Reunion of the States* (1919, Chronicles of America); *The Freedman's Savings Bank* (1927). At the time of his last illness he was engaged upon a biography of Jefferson Davis and a history of the Ku Klux Klan. The esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues is evidenced by the fact that not long ago a volume on the South entitled *I'll Take My Stand,* written by twelve Southerners, was dedicated to him.

DeCourcy Wright Thom, banker, publicist, and vice president of the Maryland Historical Society, died on August 6 at the age of 74. He was prominent in the work for the preservation of Maryland antiquities, and was founder of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

H. Nelson Gay, the author of the leading article in this number, died on August 13 at the age of 62. A graduate of Amherst College, of the class of 1891, and a graduate fellow of Harvard University, 1900–1903, he had lived in Rome for many years. During that time he had built up what has been esteemed to be the most comprehensive library dealing with the history of Italy from 1815 to 1870, the period of the Risorgimento. He did much to interest Italians in American history, contributing to a series on illustrious Americans the volume on *Abramo Lincoln*. His house in Rome was a center of studies for those interested in Italian history.

Stanley Lane-Poole, the eminent Arabist and historian, died on December 29 at the age of 77. He began his career in the coin department of the British Museum and prepared the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, 14 vols. (1875–1890). He was employed by the British and other governments on archæological missions. He contributed several volumes to the series of Rulers of India, Heroes of the Nations, and Story of the Nations. He was also the author of the *Life of Stratford Canning, Viscount de Redcliffe*, 2 vols. (1888), and the *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (1894).

L. Cecil Jane died on February 15. He was translator and editor of *Select Documents illustrating the Voyages of Columbus*, published by the Hakluyt Society (1930), and author of *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America* (1929).

Julien Hayem, an eminent writer on French economic history, died on March 5 at an advanced age. He was an industrialist by vocation, carrying on a business established by his father, but his avocation was history, and he found time to edit and contribute to a series of volumes entitled *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France*, of which the thirteenth is in press.

Jean Jules Jusserand, distinguished scholar and diplomat, died in Paris on July 18 at the age of 77. For the last twenty-three years of his diplomatic service he was ambassador in Washington. His name was frequently coupled with that of James Bryce in the esteem of the American people. In 1920 he was chosen president of the American Historical Association and presided over the annual meeting held in St. Louis. He entered the diplomatic service after completing his studies at the universities of Lyons and Paris. He became counselor of the French embassy in London in 1887. He had already published a volume on the English theater, and his contributions to history and the history of literature soon won him a notable position in international scholarship. In 1884 he published a volume on *Les Anglais au Moyen Age*, which also appeared in England under the title of *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. Perhaps his chief work was his *Literary History of the English People*, the first volume of which in its French

edition was published in 1894. Several of his works were crowned by the French Academy. A still greater reward was his election to be one of the Forty Immortals. In 1929 appeared his *Instructions aux Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, 1648–1690,* an important contribution to a great series of diplomatic documents. His latest volume, published last year, and reviewed in this journal, was *Le Sentiment Américain pendant la Guerre.* He was always an eloquent and persuasive advocate of a more perfect understanding, the French of the Americans, and the Americans of the French.

The May number of the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* is devoted to the memory of Albert Mathiez. It opens with a discriminating review by his successor as editor, Professor Georges Lefebvre, of Mathiez's Œuvre Historique. Among the other articles is a discussion by Professor L. R. Gottschalk of Mathiez's influence upon the younger historical writers of the United States. An interesting document is the letter of Mathiez to Dr. Gottschalk, explaining the beginnings of his break with M. Aulard.

C. K. Webster, until recently professor of history in the University of Wales, and visiting professor at Harvard University for half of each year, has become Stevenson Professor of International History in the University of London. Two other new appointments in the University of London are: N. H. Baynes as professor of Byzantine History, and Charles Singer as professor of the History of Medicine.

Dr. Dana G. Munro, recently United States Minister to Haiti, has been appointed professor of Latin American History and Affairs at Princeton University.

Dr. Nathaniel Schmidt, professor of Semitic languages and literature and Oriental history at Cornell University, has been made professor emeritus.

Dr. William B. Hesseltine, of the University of Chattanooga, has been appointed acting assistant professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin for the current year. Professor Delos S. Otis will remain at Wisconsin for this year also.

Professor James Westfall Thompson, of the University of Chicago, has accepted an appointment to the Sidney Hellman Ehrman professorship of European history at the University of California, to begin work in January.

The following promotions may be noted: *University of Chicago,* Carl F. Huth, to be professor of Ancient history, Frances E. Gillespie, to be associate professor of English history, Eugene N. Anderson, to be assistant professor of Modern European history; *Miami University,* William E. Smith, to be professor; *University of Nebraska,* James L. Sellers, to be professor.

Professor J. J. Van Nostrand, of the University of California, and Dr.

Yamato Ichihashi, of Stanford University, have been granted leave of absence for the year.

The Huntington Library has appointed to its International Research Fellowships for the current year F. M. Salter, of the University of Iowa, and J. W. Ashton, of Kansas City.

Professor Tenney Frank delivered a lecture on Cicero before the British Academy on June 8.

After two years of service of great value to this journal, Phoebe A. Heath resigned her position as assistant editor. On July 2 she was married to Mr. H. M. Stoker, and shortly afterwards sailed for South Africa to take up her residence at Pretoria. Mrs. Janet Woodburn Wiecking, formerly assistant editor, has resumed her work on the *Review* for a time.

GENERAL

The International Committee of Historical Sciences has recently established a committee for the preparation of a bibliography of the peace movement in the past. The chairman is Dr. Jacob ter Meulen, author of *Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation* and librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague. Another member is Dr. Chr. L. Lange, author of *L'Histoire de l'Internationalisme*. Dr. Lange has served for many years as secretary-general of the Interparliamentary Union. He also built up the remarkably rich library of the Nobel Institute. The American member is Professor Merle Curti, of Smith College.

The International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation issued in July the first number of a quarterly *Index Translationum, International Bibliography of Translations*. This number lists translations which have appeared in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, and the United States.

The second *Year-Book* (1931) of the International Labour Office, published in Geneva, is available in this country through the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston (pp. xvi, 547, $3.00). The World Peace Foundation also distributes *Ten Years of International Jurisdiction, 1922–1932* [Permanent Court of International Justice] (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, pp. 74, $1.25).

The American Council of Learned Societies offers in 1933 (July 1) grants in aid of research and post-doctoral fellowships for training and research in the humanities. The grants are in two categories: small grants, not exceeding $300, and larger grants, not ordinarily exceeding $1000. Applicants for grants must possess the doctorate or its equivalent, and must be actually in need of the desired assistance and unable to secure it from other sources. The grants are made for specific purposes (other than living ex-

penses or in lieu of salary), such as travel, photostats, secretarial assistance, etc., in connection with projects of research actually under way. The fellowships have a basic stipend of $1800, to which allowances of travel, expenses of research, and other purposes may be added. Applicants must have the doctorate, must not be more than thirty-six years of age, and must have demonstrated unmistakable aptitude for constructive research. Information respecting grants and fellowships, as well as application blanks, may be secured from the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. All applications must be filed by December 15, 1932, and awards will be announced in March, 1933.

Isis (Apr.) contains the thirty-second Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization (to Oct., 1931).

In the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for July, J. Denucé, of the municipal archives of Antwerp, presents a conspectus of a class of documents of importance for the economic history of Antwerp, and of Europe, for a period beginning with the sixteenth century. This category of documents is known under the name of "Chambre des Fonds insolvables" or "Fonds des Faillites". A great many of the papers have perished through neglect, some through the burning of the Hôtel de Ville in 1576, but the present collection represents the affairs of a hundred firms. M. Denucé says that the collection forms, with the archives preserved in the Plantin-Moretus museum, an uninterrupted series of important documents extending over a period of three or four centuries, and he believes that it is unique in the world.

The volume entitled *Faith, Hope, and Charity in Primitive Religion,* by R. R. Marett, of the British Academy (Macmillan Co., pp. 239, $3.00),[1] embodies lectures given in Boston two years ago at the Lowell Institute, and amplified the following year as the Gifford Lectures at the University of St. Andrews. The lectures deal with such topics as the Religious Complex, Fear, Cruelty, and Curiosity.

Various aspects of the causes of war are given consideration by a group of distinguished men in the published reports of a commission of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion (*The Causes of War,* Macmillan, pp. xxix, 235, $1.50). Among the contributors are Sir Arthur Salter, Alfred Zimmern, Wickham Steed. The editor is Mr. Arthur Porritt. On the same general subject is the *Development of the Peace Idea,* a collection of addresses and essays by Benjamin Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society, 1892–1915. The essays include, among others, one

[1] Articles mentioned in the following lists appeared in periodicals dated from January to August of the current year; books are of the current year unless a date is given.

on William Penn's Holy Experiment and one on Richard Cobden's Influence toward the Peace of the World. Mr. Edwin D. Mead contributes a preface (Plimpton Press, pp. xxviii, 243).

In a brief article entitled A Propos des Histoires Générales de Cambridge, in the *Revue de Synthèse* for June, M. Louis Halphen, himself the editor of a notable coöperative general history, comments suggestively upon the four series, dealing with Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Imperial history, published under the auspices of the Cambridge University group of historians.

The volume on the *Principles of Social Legislation,* by Mary Stevenson Callcott, Ph.D., in collaboration with Willoughby C. Waterman, A.M. (Macmillan, pp. xix, 416, $3.00), is primarily concerned with social legislation in the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century, but in dealing with every topic the authors go back to the earlier methods of treating the problem. For example, the development of the English Poor Law is briefly but adequately explained as an appropriate background for a discussion of the theme of Relief of Poverty. Professor Harry J. Carman has contributed a foreword.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July continues its reviews of the present situation of the Catholic Church by articles on the Church in Contemporary Ireland, by James F. Kenney, in Russia, by Edmund A. Walsh, and in France, by Charles L. Souvay.

Copies of the first two volumes of cumulative indexes of this journal are in demand, and persons desiring to dispose of theirs may communicate with the office of the Association.

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: W. Otto, *Zur Universalgeschichte des Altertums* [chiefly Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums,* vol. II.] (Hist. Zeitschr., June 29).

A group of European scholars interested in prehistoric and "protohistoric" art and archæology have issued the first fascicle of *Préhistoire.* The editor-in-chief is Raymond Lantier, assistant director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and the publisher Ernest Leroux. This fascicle contains Les Sculptures du Roc (Charente), by Dr. Henri Martin, Œuvres d'Art du Magdalénien, Objets d'Art de la Grotte del Pendo, près Santander, by Hugo Obermaier, and Les Chars Cultuels et leurs Survivances Historiques, by Robert Forrer. The fascicles for a year will make up a volume of about 240 pages and the subscription price is 250 francs.

Two notable pamphlets lately published by Humphrey Milford for the British Academy are *Minoan Art,* by E. J. Forsdyke (Henriette Hertz Lec-

ture, pp. 30, with excellent illustrations), and *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum,* demotic and Greek, edited and translated by H. I. Bell and others (pp. 54, and facsimile plates).

The American publisher for Ulrich Wilcken's *Alexander the Great,* translated by G. C. Richards, is the Dial Press (pp. ix, 337, $5.00).

Professor M. L. W. Laistner, of Cornell University, has revised and enlarged his *Survey of Ancient History,* emphasizing in the additional paragraphs and chapters art and literature, economic phenomena, the development of the Athenian constitution, and the Hellenistic period. The title of the new book is *Greek History* (D. C. Heath, pp. xiii, 485, $3.40).

The July *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contained a first installment of a group of about forty private letters of the "Golden Age of Hammurabi" which belong to the non-Sumerian cuneiform material in the library. The editor is Dr. T. Fish, special lecturer in the Semitic department of the University of Manchester. The letters are presented in copy, transliteration, and translation.

A bibliography of Graeco-Roman Egypt appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (May), the papyrological publications being reviewed in departments by J. G. Milne, H. I. Bell, N. H. Baynes, F. De Zulueta, and others, the epigraphical by M. N. Tod. In *Historia,* VI. 1, there is a Rassegna di Etruschologia, and a Rassegna di Epigraphia Romana by A. N. Modona, and a Bibliographia di Diritto Antico by L. Canesi.

In the *Archiv für Orientforschung,* 8, 1–2, are reports of the excavations and expeditions of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt. F.-A. C. Schaeffer publishes his report of the 3rd campaign at Minet-el-Beida, and Ras Shamra, in *Syria,* 13.1. A full account of the Serabit expedition of 1930, by K. Lake, A. Barrois, S. New, and R. F. Butin, appears in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April. One may note also P. Collart and P. Devambez, Voyage dans la Région du Strymon, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,* 55.1; New Items from Athens, by E. P. Blegen, in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* June; and J. Keil's 16th preliminary report of the excavations at Ephesus in *Jahreshefte,* 27. 1. In the *Illustrated London News* of June 18, walls of the Canaanite fortress of Shechem; June 25, sculpture from the Agora excavations at Athens, also pottery and terra cottas dating from 1000 B. C. to the 4th century A. D.; July 16, report of the digging of a pit at Nineveh to virgin soil; finding of Assyrian records and Hittite tablets; July 30, objects from Rhodes and Calchi ranging from early Ægean to Hellenistic work; Aug. 13, the earliest church with mural decorations, from Dura-Europos.

Among articles criticizing source materials may be noted: E. Dhorme,

Les Peuples issus de Japhet d'après le Chapitre X de la Genèse (*Syria,* 13.1); A. Momigliano, La Leggenda di Carano, Re di Macedonia (*Atene e Roma,* n. s., 12. 4); C. D'Amico, La Battaglia di Salamine, in Eschilo e Erodoto (*ibid.*); G. de Sanctis, La Genesi della Elleniche di Senofonte (*An. d. R. Scuola Normale Sup. di Pisa,* ser. II. 1); Piero Treves, Jeronimo di Cardia e la Politica di Demetrio Poliorcete (*Riv. di Filol.,* June); B. L. Hallward, Cicero Historicus (*Cam. Hist. Jour.,* 3.3).

Material of interest to the student of economic history appears in F. W. v. Bissing's article On the Occurrence of Tin in Asia Minor (*Jour. of Hellenic Stud.,* 1932.1), and G. A. Wainwright's article on Iron in Egypt (*Jour. of Egypt. Arch.,* May). E. Grier discusses Accounting in the Zenon Papyri (*Class. Philol.,* May), and W. L. Westermann, Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt (*Jour. of Egypt. Arch.,* May). Note also M. I. Rostovtzeff, The Caravan-gods of Palmyra (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.,* 22.1); J. Curle, Roman Crift in Caledonia (*ibid.*); and H. Mattingly, Hoards of Roman Coins found in Britain (*ibid*).

Legal, military, and institutional antiquities have received considerable attention. One may mention Ph. Finger, Die drei Grundlegungen des Rechts im 1. Buch von Cicero's Schrift *De Legibus* (*Rhein. Museum,* 81.2); M. A. Levi, L'Appellativo *Imperator* [a criticism of the views of Mommsen, Rosenberg, and Momigliano] (*Riv. di Filol.,* June); G. Vinay, Nota su *consul* e *imperator* (*ibid.*); S. Weinstock, Templum (*Röm. Mitt.,* 47, 1–2). E. Fabricius writes Some Notes on Polybius' Description of Roman Camps (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.,* 22.1); A. Klotz, Die Bezeichnung der Römischen Legionen (*Rhein. Mus.,* 81.2); E. Birley, Roman Garrisons in the North of Britain (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.,* 22.1); and E. v. Nischer, Die Quellen für das Spätrömischen Heerwesen (*Am. Jour. of Philol.,* June).

Articles: S. Smith, *An Egyptian in Babylonia* (Jour. Egypt. Arch., May); H. Bauer, *Ein Aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Die Inschrift der Stele von Sudschīn* (Archiv f. Orientforsch., 8.1–2); S. Mowinckel, *Die Chronologie der Israelitischen und Jüdischen Könige* (Acta Orient. 10.3); W. F. Albright, *The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Pre-exilic History of Judah, with some Observations on Ezekiel* (Jour. Bib. Lit., June); F. Schachermeyr, *Zur Chronologie der Kleisthenischen Reformen* (Klio, 25.3); R. v. Fischer, *Der Zahlenproblem im Perserkriege, 480–479 v. Chr.* (*ibid.*); F. Maurice, *The Campaign of Marathon* (Jour. Hellenic Stud., 52.1); H. W. Parke, *The Tithe of Apollo and the Harmost of Decelea, 413–404 B. C.* (*ibid.,* 55.1); C. Barratt, *The Chronology of the Eponymous Archons of Boeotia* (*ibid.*); W. H. Pater, *Aratus in Corinth* (Hermathena, 46); A. E. R. Boak, *A Petition for Relief from Guardianship P. Mich. Inv. no. 2922* (Jour. Egypt Arch., May); F. Leifer and E. Goldmann, *Zum Problem der Foruminschrift unter dem Lapis Niger* (Klio, Beiheft 27);

R. S. Conway, *The Etruscan Influence on Roman Religion* (Bull. John Rylands Libr., July); E. Bickermann, *Bellum Antiochicum* [a fresh analysis of the pre-war diplomatic relations between Antiochus and the Roman senate] (Hermes, 67.1); M. Segre, *Mitridate e Chio* (Il Mondo Class., II.2); J. G. C. Anderson, *The Genesis of Diocletian's Provincial Organization* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 22.1); M. Rostovtzeff, *Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); Fr. Cumont, *Le Testament de Ptolémée le Jeune, Roi de Cyrène* (Jour. des Sav., Apr.); G. Bardy, *Les Écoles Romaines au Second Siècle* (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., July).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: F. M. Powicke and Carl Stephenson, *The Recent Trend in Medieval Studies* (History, Apr.); Gino Luzzatto, *The Study of Medieval Economic History in Italy: Recent Literature and Tendencies* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.).

In the great series Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, five volumes have been allotted to the Council of Chalcedon. The fourth of these has appeared first; it contains letters written by or addressed to Pope Leo I. before and after the council. The title of this important work is *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense; Leonis Papae I. Epistularum Collectiones* (Berlin, De Gruyter, pp. xlvii, 192). The editor is E. Schwartz.

Acta Sanctorum Novembris instead of being vol. V. as might have been expected, is called vol. II., *pars posterior,* the first part having been published in 1894. The new volume is taken up entirely by a commentary by Hippolyte Delehaye on the important Hieronymian Martyrology (Brussels, Quentin, 1931, pp. xxiv, 721). An explanatory article on the new volume appears in *Analecta Bollandiana,* L. 1–2.

To *Studi Bizantini e Neo-ellenici,* vol. III., edited by S. G. Mercati (Rome, Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1931, pp. 304), J. Compernass has contributed Zwei Psalmenhomilien des Arethas von Kaisareia; P. Lefous, Materiali Essicali e Folkloristici Greco-Otrantini; A. Vasiliev, a study of the Viaggio of Giovanni V. Paleologo in Italia e l'Unione di Roma; G. Gerola, Le Vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti; while the editor publishes certain Testi Volgari Neo-ellenici found in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana and critical notes on various Testi Bizantini.

In the July *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library is a review of the work of Dr. A. Mingana, who has been keeper of the library's Oriental manuscripts since 1915, and who has now taken a similar position in the Rendel Harris Library of the Selly Oak Colleges at Birmingham. Dr. Mingana's most notable work was the completion of the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts. In the course of this work he discovered the "earliest known

apology for Islam as against Christianity, written about 850 A. D., at Baghdad, by 'Ali Ṭabari, at the court of and with the assistance of the Caliph Muttawakkil". Another discovery was a "Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Christian Church in A. D. 1138 by Muktafi II., the Mohammedan Caliph of Baghdad". No similar charter had before been found. Some 600 Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts, obtained in Dr. Mingana's successive journeys to the East, which were financed by Mr. Edward Cadbury, form the most important element in the Rendel Harris Library, which Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury have given to the Selly Oak Colleges. The study of these manuscripts will be significant for the history of early Christianity.

A collection of essays dealing with *Classical Authors in Florilegia,* by Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Chicago, has been brought together from various issues of *Classical Philology.* A study of these anthologies is important for a more exact appraisement of the classical heritage of the Middle Ages.

In *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, vol. XXIII. (Rome, W. Regenberg, 1931–1932, pp. 301), there are several articles of interest in the medieval field, among them the following: Die Aufrufe Gerberts und Sergius' IV. für das Heilige Land, by Carl Erdmann; Analekten zur Geschichte des Reformpapsttums und der Cluniazenser, by Johannes Ramackers; Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaates bis zum Beginn der Avignonesischen Epoche, pt. 2, by Otto Vehse; and Die Konstantinische Schenkung in der Abendländischen Literatur des Ausgehenden Mittelalters, by the late Gerhard Laehr.

Bulletin no. 10 of the *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America,* edited, in the continued absence of Professor James F. Willard, by Irene P. McKeehan and Erwin F. Meyer, includes Canadian medievalists in its lists. Among its valuable features are a list of forthcoming books and a list of doctoral dissertations in progress or completed. It also reports the progress of the several projects upon which the Mediaeval Academy of America is engaged.

Articles: Philipp A. Becker, *Vom Christlichen Hymnus zum Minnesang* (Hist. Jahrb., Heft 1, 1932); Luigi Schiaparelli, *Note Diplomatiche sulle Carte Langobarde, i Notai nell' Età Langobarda* (Arch. Stor. Ital., Apr.), H. E. del Medico, *Essai sur Kahrié Djami au Début du XII*ème *Siècle* (Byz. Zeitschr., XXXII. 1, 1932); Paul B. Schaeffer, *The Popes and the Twelfth Century Renaissance* (Pac. Hist. Rev., June); Albert Vogt, *S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie* [text of unpublished ninth century Greek life of this bishop] (An. Boll., L. 1–2); Paul Peeters, *Les Débuts du Christianisme en Géorgie*

d'après les Sources Hagiographiques (*ibid.*); Robert Lechat, *Les Fragmenta de Vita et Miraculis S. Bernardi par Geoffroy d'Auxerre* [Latin text, *cir.* 1145] (*ibid.*); Ferdinand Kloss, *Das Räumliche Bild der Grundherrschaft in Böhmen bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Mitteil. des Verein. für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXX. 1–2); Heribert C. Scheeben, *Der Literarische Nachlass Jordans von Sachsen* (Hist. Jahrb., Heft 1, 1932); Gabriele C. Medici, *Note per la Ricostruzione del Diritto Volgare Gallo-Italico* (Arch. Stor. Lomb., Mar.); A. A. Vasiliev, *Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?* (Speculum, July); D. C. Munro, *A Crusader* (*ibid.*); H. G. Richardson, *A Norman Law Suit* (*ibid.*); Martin Grabmann, *Eine Lateinische Uebersetzung der Pseudo-aristotelischen Rhetorica ad Alexandrum aus dem 13. Jahrhundert* (Sitzungsb. der Bayerisch. Akad. der Wissenschaft, Philos.-Hist. Abt., 1931–1932, Heft 4); Émile van Moé, *Recherches sur l'Histoire des Ermites de St-Augustin* [I.] (Rev. des Ques. Hist., Apr.); D. G. Morin, *Bérenger contre Bérenger: un Document Inédit des Luttes Théologiques du XI^e Siècle* (Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd., Apr.); H. Dannenbauer, *Die Römische Petruslegende* (Hist. Zeitschr., June 29); John L. La Monte, *To what Extent was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States?* (Byzantion, VII. i, 1932); A. Vasiliev, *Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy* (*ibid.*).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Giuseppe Messina, *Storia della Religioni* (N. Antol., July 1).

A work of interest in the field of historical literature is *La Vie et l'Œuvre d'un Cosmopolite Philosophe, Sismondi, 1773–1842,* by Jean R. de Salis (Paris, Champion, 2 vols., 70 fr.). It is accompanied by letters and other inedited documents, and forms tome 77 of the Bibliothèque de la *Revue de Littérature Comparée.*

The publication of M. Émile Mâle's *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, Colin, pp. x, 532, 294 engravings, 160 fr.) marks the completion of a great work. Unlike its predecessors this volume does not restrict its treatment to the religious art of France alone, but deals with that of other Catholic countries. The period is from the close of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth.

Since Friedjung wrote his account of the Crimean War in 1907, the policy of the Central European states during that crisis has been restudied and found less simple than supposed. Austria feared that Russia's victory over Turkey would result in a break-up of the Turkish empire through revolution and the creation of democratic republics with a fatal attraction for Austria's southern provinces. She therefore desired with the help of

Western Europe to replace Russia's influence in the Balkans with her own. Among the latest monographs in this general field is *Die Deutsche Frage und der Krimkrieg,* by Eduard Heller, former archivist in Vienna (Berlin, Osteuropäische Forschungen, N. F. 9, 1931, pp. 215).

In a large and handsome volume, the Danube commission has published an account of its remarkable work during the first seventy-five years of its existence. The editor-in-chief is Professor Carlo Rossetto, minister plenipotentiary and delegate of Italy, with the collaboration of Francis Rey, secretary-general of the commission. The work, which bears the title *La Commission Européenne du Danube et son Œuvre de 1856 à 1931* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1931, pp. 526) is based on the archives of the commission and special studies made by a group of its technical experts.

When Roumania entered the World War, a military mission was sent to its assistance. The chief of staff of this mission, General Pétin, is well fitted to describe the events in that sector, in many of which he had a personal share. The account, which is detailed and technical, bears the title *Le Drame Roumain, 1916–1918* (Paris, Payot, 3 vols.).

Mr. James H. Powers, foreign editor of the Boston *Globe* is the author of *Years of Tumult: the World since 1918* (W. W. Norton, pp. 345, $3.00). By an analysis of the Treaty of Versailles, and a narration of events since 1919 in the more important countries of Europe and Asia, the author hopes to clarify some of the world's dilemmas of 1932. The final chapter is on New Phases of American Foreign Policy.

Articles: Attilio Amato, *Marengo* [account of battle in 370 pages] (Riv. di Storia, Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Anton Ernstberger, *Charles Mackay und die Idee der Vereinigten Staaten von Europa im Jahre 1848* (Hist. Zeitschr., June 29); Marcel Handelsman, *La Guerre de Crimée: la Question Polonaise et les Origines du Problème Bulgare* [with documents] (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Egon Gottschalk, *Die Diplomatische Geschichte der Serbischen Note vom 31. März 1909* (Berl. Monatsh., Aug.); Eduard Ritter von Steinitz, *Berchtolds Politik während des Zweiten Balkankrieges, das Endergebnis der Krise 1912–13* (*ibid.*, July); J. Isaac, *Le Problème des Origines de la Guerre: Trois Solutions Américaines* [a discussion of the contributions of Barnes, Fay, and Schmitt, I.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.); Albert Pingaud, *La Mission de M. Doumer en Russie, 1915* (Rev. des D. M., June 15); Anna-Léo Zévaès, *Le Mouvement Anarchiste de 1870 à nos Jours* [I., II., to be cont'd] (N. Rev., June 1, 15).

GREAT BRITAIN

Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant, A. D. 1251–1779, edited for the Selden Society by Hubert Hall, has now reached vol. III. The Supplementary Central Courts is the subject of the volume.

H. M. Stationery Office has issued part III. of the *Register of Edward the Black Prince.* This deals with the administration of the estates and household in the palatinate of Chester for the period 1351 to 1365. The Stationery Office has also published addenda to vol. I., part II. of the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*

Vol. IV. of the *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers,* preserved in the Bodleian Library, covers the years 1657–1660. It is edited by F. J. Routledge, and published by the Clarendon Press.

Among the recent issues of the Facsimile Text Society (Columbia University Press, 1931) are John Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce,* and Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd.* Professors George Burton Hotchkiss and Charles H. McIlwain respectively are responsible for the bibliographical notes. Wheeler's *Treatise* is reproduced from a copy of the London edition of 1601 in the Seligman Library of Columbia University, which differs in details from the Middleburgh edition which was reprinted by the New York University Press with an historical introduction by Professor Hotchkiss. Wheeler was secretary of the Merchant Adventurers and compiled the Laws and Ordinances of that company reprinted in 1902 by Professor W. E. Lingelbach. Goodman's work, according to Professor McIlwain, is one of a series of sixteenth century political writings which "marks the first definite shift of opinion under the pressure of religion away from the doctrine of almost unlimited obedience". It is reproduced chiefly from the copy in the Union Theological Seminary Library, though some pages imperfect in that copy are from photostats of the copy in the British Museum. W. T. L.

The Bank of England from Within, by W. Marston Acres, a member of the bank's staff, studies phases of this great institution's history which have not been included in previous books. As the words "from within" suggest, the author deals with the bank's staff, and its buildings, as well as its financial practices. The work is in two volumes, printed for the "Governor and Company" of the bank (Oxford, University Press, 1931, 30 s.).

The new volume of the *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company,* by E. B. Sainsbury (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 18 s.) covers the years 1671–1673. The introduction is by W. T. Ottewill. This was a period of great prosperity for the company, for the dividends declared rose to thirty per cent. in 1672, in spite of the fact that war with the Dutch brought extraordinary risks in its train. The price of spices at the time caused as much discussion as the price of rubber in recent years. The Dutch monopoly of cinnamon forced the price up to seven or eight shillings a pound, and the price of nutmegs to twelve shillings. Pepper on the other hand was only one shilling.

The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296–1932, by Dr. Marguerite Wood, keeper of the burgh records, assembles all the information available about these noteworthy officials, giving each a brief biography, and accompanying about sixty of the sketches with portraits. The volume has been printed by the Edinburgh University Press for Sir Thomas Whiston, the present lord provost. It is intended for private circulation.

Under the title of *The English Newspaper: Some Account of the Physical Development of Newspapers printed in London between 1622 and the Present Day* (Cambridge, University Press, 45 s.), Stanley Morison has made an important contribution to the history of the format, typography, and other conditions of publication.

Mark Longaker's *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931) is a history of the art of writing biography in the period when, the author maintains, it first found "complete illustration in England". There are chapters on Roger North's *Lives,* Johnson's *Lives of the Poets,* and Boswell's *Life of Johnson.*

Dr. John D. Comrie's *History of Scottish Medicine,* first issued in 1927 to conclude with 1860 has now been brought down to 1931 and issued in two volumes by Ballière, Tindall, and Cox.

An important phase of British-Indian history has at length been given adequate treatment in *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890–1908* by C. C. Davies (Cambridge, University Press, 12 s. 6d.). One of the difficulties of the situation has been the length of the frontier and the varied character of the tribal population. The author believes that the troubles were increased by the persistent intrigues of the amirs of Afghanistan. His work is largely based on foreign office papers recently open to investigators and on Secret Border Reports which were made available by special permission.

Professor Paul Knaplund's edition of Sir Edward Grey's *Speeches on Foreign Affairs, 1904–1914,* of which the English edition was noticed here in the January number, has now been republished by the Harvard University Press.

The British Academy's Raleigh Lecture for 1931 was delivered by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and is published by Humphrey Milford as a pamphlet with the title *The Rôle of Bosnia in International Politics, 1875–1914.*

Mr. Humphrey Milford publishes for the British Academy, as pamphlets, the commemorative biographical addresses read before the academy respecting Sir Israel Gollancz, Thomas W. Arnold, and Thomas Ashby.

Students proposing to examine documents relating to local government

and social history should not ignore the invaluable series found in the archives of Norwich, England. The Muniment Room at the Castle Museum has recently been placed under the administration of the Norwich Public Libraries Committee. The series includes Leet Rolls, Assembly Books (1434–1833), Mayor's Court Books (1440–1835), Chamberlain's Accounts (1384–1835), Freemen's Roll, by-laws and rules for trades and merchandise, Coroner's Inquests, Pleas, the Guild of St. George (1421–1718), Quarter Sessions Books, etc.

Articles: H. M. Cam, *Manerium cum Hundredo: the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); A. L. Poole, *Henry Plantagenet's Early Visits to England* (*ibid.*); H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, *The King's Ministers in Parliament, 1272–1377* [pt. III.], *The Parliaments of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); K. L. Wood-Legh, *The Knights' Attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); E. Margaret Thompson, *A Fragment of a Witham Charterhouse Chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh* (Bull. John Rylands Libr., July); E. F. Jacob, *Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele* (*ibid.*); James F. Willard, *The Dating and Delivery of Letters Patent and Writs in the Fourteenth Century* (Bull. Inst. of Hist. Research, June); Graham Pollard, *The Bibliographical History of Hall's Chronicle* (*ibid.*); Freda Nicholas, *The Assize of Bread in London during the 16th Century* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); A. L. Rowse, *The Plymouth Fishery, 1584–1591* (*ibid.*); J. G. Muddiman, *Francis Smith the Elder, Bookseller, Anabaptist Preacher, and Author, 1659–1692* (Notes and Queries, July); R. D. Richards, *The Bank of England and the South Sea Company* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); Norman Sykes, *Episcopal Administration in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); Raymond Guyot, *Quelques Aspects Nouveaux du Règne de Victoria* (Rev. Hist., May); Ralph M. Hower, *The Wedgwoods: Ten Generations of Potters* [II.] (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); E. Lipson, *England in the Age of Mercantilism* (*ibid.*); Lewis Patton, *Coleridge and Revolutionary France* (South Atlantic Quar., July); William Thomas Morgan, *The British Ministerial Revolution of 1931* (*ibid.*); Pierre Crabitès, *England's Fifty Years in Egypt* (Nineteenth Cent. and After, July).

FRANCE

General review: André Lasseray, *La Bibliographie Militaire Française en 1930* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.).

A comprehensive survey of the treasures of French local libraries, manuscripts, rare books, prints, coins, and other objects of historical interest, is embodied in *Les Richesses des Bibliothèques Provinciales de France,* edited by Pol Neveux, inspector general of libraries, and Émile Dacier, assistant director of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales de France, 1000 fr.). This work is due to government initiative,

and the editors have received the assistance of the directors of provincial libraries.

Les Presses Universitaires de France has recently issued the third and last fascicle of tome I. of *Bibliographie des Travaux Publiés de 1866 à 1847 sur l'Histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789,* edited by E. Saulnier, archivist at the ministry of the colonies, and A. Martin, assistant director of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Students of Roman Gaul are promised an instrument of great value in *Forma Orbis Romani, Carte Archéologique de la Gaule Romaine,* the first sections of which deal with the departments of the *Alpes-Maritimes* and *Basses-Alpes* (Paris, Leroux, 1931, pp. 55, 3 plates, map, 75 fr.). The authors are Paul Couissin, of the museum of Marseilles, and Henry de Gérin-Ricard, a well-known archæologist of the region portrayed. The map is based upon that of the geographical service of the French army. The localities which have yielded archæological remains are numbered in order that corresponding paragraphs of text may indicate the exact nature of the finds. The whole project is under the direction of Adrien Blanchet.

The volume by the late Paul Raveau entitled *Essai sur la Situation Économique et l'État Social en Poitou au XVI^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Rivière, 1931, pp. 107, 16 fr.) was originally planned to be for industrial life the complement of the author's *L'Agriculture et les Classes Paysannes.* Although incomplete, it makes valuable contributions to the study of the price of wheat and to the relation of the local authorities to the enterprises of the guilds. These studies have been brought together from the pages of the *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.*

In *French Mercantilist Doctrines before Colbert,* Charles Woolsey Cole (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. xiv, 243, $2.50) takes as his point of departure the year 1453, when the process of unification was sufficiently complete to create among the French a sense of common nationality. The book is devoted mainly to a discussion of the systems of Laffemas and Montchrétien, and of their contemporaries. It serves as an introduction to the study of the economic policies of Richelieu and Colbert.

The Facsimile Text Society as vol. VI. in its series of Language and Literature has reprinted the *Letter to Gen. Lafayette by James Fenimore Cooper and Related Correspondence on the Finance Controversy* (Columbia University Press, 1931). Cooper's letter appears both in the English (Baudry) and French (Paulin) versions. Professor Robert E. Spiller has furnished a bibliographical note.

The first president of the Third Republic is the subject of several recent studies, two of which are *Thiers* by Henri Malo, former librarian of the

Institut Thiers, who has had access to a large number of unpublished documents (Paris, Payot), and *Les Derniers Jours de l'Empire et le Gouvernement de M. Thiers* by Charles Chesnelong, deputy and senator from 1871 to 1899 (Paris, Perrin).

We have recollections of diplomats in abundance, and sometimes memoirs written by members of a diplomat's family, but it would be hard to find in this literature a book of better temper or greater charm than *Enfances Diplomatiques: Saint-Petersbourg, Copenhague, Lisbonne, Athènes, Bruxelles,* by M. Wladimir d'Ormesson (Paris, Hachette, pp. 256, 12 fr.). The author's first clear memories date from his father's stay at Copenhagen, at the patriarchal court of Christian IX., the "grand-père" of Europe. At Lisbon he was one of the playmates of the crown prince, destined to so tragic a fate, and the late ex-King Manuel, too young to join in the games, was a very pretty child "avec ses grandes boucles blondes, son teint mat, son air royal". As the family's longest stay was at Athens, M. d'Ormesson's recollections of Greece and the Greek court are especially detailed and interesting.

Admiral de Faramond's *Souvenirs d'un Attaché Naval en Allemagne et en Autriche, 1910–1914* (Paris, Plon, pp. xxvii, 234, 15 fr.) is more than a volume of recollections; it is an attempt of an observer, with unusual opportunities for assembling information and gaining impressions, to clarify the problem of war origins. He was persona grata in German society because while naval attaché in Washington he had married Miss Langham, sister of the Baroness Speck von Sternberg. Of none of the German officials whom he knew are his appreciations harsh, except Von Jagow whom he regarded as a "menteur" and a "fourbe". His characterization of the Kaiser is balanced. From the conversation which he had with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand the inference is that the archduke regarded with anxiety the growing tension between Germany and England. Naturally the volume abounds in interesting comments upon individuals. For those familiar with the documents in the case its chief value will be the impressions of the actors in the drama, the characterization of situations, and the comments on atmospheres. The preface is written by Jules Cambon.

Articles: G. Pagès, *Essai sur l'Évolution des Institutions Administratives en France, du Commencement du XVI^e Siècle à la Fin du XVII^e* [II.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.); J. L. de Lucinge, *Les Infortunes de René de Lucinge, Ambassadeur de Savoie, et le Traité de Lyon, 1601* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Apr.); Comte de Saint-Aulaire, *Richelieu: l'Apprentissage, 1607–1617* (*ibid.*, Jan.); Paul Bondois, *Une Négociation Difficile: Madame de Chevreuse en Angleterre* (*ibid.*, Jan., Apr.); Émile Magne, *Le Château de St. Cloud au XVII^e Siècle* (Rev. de Paris, June 15); Henri Froidevaux, *François Martin à Pondichéry de 1674 à 1686* (Rev. d'Hist. Col., May);

Arthur Le Moy, *La Grande Prêtresse* [Jeanne Charlotte de Trégnibé, wife of the advocate-general Le Prestre de Châteaugiron, 1761–1782] (An. de Bretagne, XL. 1); G. Pagès, *La Vénalité des Offices dans l'Ancienne France* (Rev. Hist., May); Louis Mazoyer, *Exploitation Forestière et Conflits Sociaux en Franche-Comté à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., July); Edmond Soreau, *La Révolution Française et le Proletariat Rural* [III.] (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., July); Albert Mathiez, *Fauvelle et Danton* [among the late Professor Mathiez's papers still to be published] (*ibid.*); Comtesse Le Marois, ed., *Lettres à M. de Staël* [written by Mme. de Staël; I.] (Rev. des D. M., June 15); F. Charles Roux, *France et Afrique du Nord avant 1830* (Rev. Hist., May); Jacques Boulenger, *Napoléon III. aux Tuileries* (Rev. de Paris, May 1).

THE NETHERLANDS

In vol. LII. of *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1931, pp. lxxxi, 396, 57, 7.75 fl.) are presented ten documents edited by J. Z. Kannegieter and relating to the draft of the constitution prepared in 1832 for King William I. of the Netherlands. The committee appointed by the king for this purpose labored in great secrecy, and not until 1928 were the documents removed from the secret cabinet archives to the general archives in The Hague. A second article gives the text, with excellent footnotes, of the journal of Admiral Tromp, written on board the warship *Amelia* in 1639, and edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber. This journal was first published two years ago in English translation by Lieutenant C. R. Boxer. Volume LIII., for 1932 (same publishers), contains a reprint of the journal of Peter White, "One of the Four Masters of Attendance in Englands Navie", serving under Admiral Pennington in 1639, when the second Spanish Armada was defeated by the Dutch near Dover; it has been edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber. A second article concerns the iconoclasm of 1566 in Utrecht, a familiar episode in Dutch history, and presents a reproduction of numerous documents from (1) the family archives of Heereman van Zuydtwyck, (2) the general archives in Brussels, and (3) the national government archives in Utrecht, edited by J. C. J. Kleijntjens and J. W. C. van Campen. A. H.

The publication of the financial accounts of the bishopric of Utrecht, 1378–1573 (*Rekeningen van het Bisdom Utrecht, 1378–1573*, Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. 632; lxxxi, 171), has been completed by two volumes edited for the Historisch Genootschap by Dr. K. Heeringa. Vol. II. reproduces the accounts of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the bishop, while vol. III. contains a very extensive index besides a useful introduction. This introduction is divided into four sections, devoted respectively to the

revenues of the bishop in general, the revenues of the temporal power in the two separate parts of the bishopric, and the expenditures of the same. A. H.

The characteristic relationship between Dutch civil authorities and academic administrations is illustrated in the history of the University of Utrecht as told by Dr. J. A. Cramer, *De Theologische Faculteit te Utrecht ten Tijde van Voetius* (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. vii, 542). The university was closely controlled for a long time by the civil authorities and even the professors of theology were appointed by the town council. On the other hand, leading theologians were often successful in swaying the opinions of those who controlled the government. Theology and zeal for orthodoxy had a greater rôle in the University of Utrecht than even in the University of Leiden. Besides a sketch of the faculty and the work of Voetius and his colleagues, numerous documents are reproduced that are very important sources for ecclesiastical affairs in Holland during the seventeenth century. These documents have been found in a manuscript that seems never to have been utilized before by historians. A. H.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Marc Bloch, *Histoire de l'Allemagne, Moyen Age* [I.] (Rev. Hist., May); Siegfried Frey, *La Storia della Svizzera* [II., publications of 1920–1929] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.).

Justus Hashagen, whose special field has always been the intellectual and social life of the Reformation period, has written an exhaustive and very learned monograph on *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation; eine Untersuchung der Vorreformatorischen Bedeutung des Laieneinflusses in der Kirche* (Essen, Baedeker, 1931, pp. xxv, 556).

Professor Hans Preuss of Erlangen is engaged on a three-volume biography of Luther, in which he will consider the reformer successively as artist, German prophet, and Christian man. Of this work, the first volume, *Martin Luther; der Künstler* has appeared (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1931, pp. vi, 319).

An important collection of 264 letters received by the diplomat Soria, one from Ferdinand the Catholic, 114 from Charles V., twenty-eight from Ferdinand, king of the Romans, etc., is inventoried in a *Catálogo de los Documentos del Archivo de Lope de Soria Embajador del Emperador Carlos V.*, appearing in the *Bol. de la Academia de la Historia*, XCVIII. 363–416. Only a few of these letters, published by Rodriguez Villa, have hitherto been known.

The problem of communal autonomy in Prussian cities has already been studied by Schmoller, but he drew his materials exclusively from the state archives at Berlin, neglecting local sources. His conclusions are rectified on

several points by Ilse Barleben's monograph, *Die Entwicklung der Städtischen Selbstverwaltung im Herzogtum Kleve während der Reform Friedrich Wilhelms I.* (Rheinisches Archiv; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn, fasc. 18; Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1931, pp. xi, 138).

To the new material now being published in commemoration of the Stein centenary should be added *Die Reorganisation des Preussischen Staates unter Stein und Hardenberg*, edited by the Prussian archivist Georg Winter (Publikat. aus d. Preuss. Staatsarch., Leipzig, Hirzel, 1931, vol. I., pp. xv, 575) and the *Briefwechsel Sacks mit Stein und Gneisenau, 1807–17*, edited by Wilhelm Steffens (Veröffentl. d. Histor. Kommission f. Pommern, Stettin, Saulnier, 1931, pp. xiii, 163).

In *Das Reich und Preussen im Kampf um die Führung, von Bismarck bis 1918* (Berlin, Carl Heymann, 1931, pp. xvi, 363, 23 M.), Hans Goldschmidt, of the Reichsarchiv, has assembled 117 documents from state and imperial archives to illustrate the dualism in the constitutional situation and the means by which Bismarck sought to emerge from its embarrassments. The introduction is unusually comprehensive and the documents themselves are annotated.

Articles: Wilhelm Weizsäcker, *Heinrich Brunner und die Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte der Gegenwart* (Mitteil. des Vereines für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXX. 1–2); Ernst Staehelin, *Des Basler Buchdruckers Ambrosius Froben Talmudausgabe und Handel mit Rom* [1578–1581] (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertumsk., XXX.); Walter L. Dorn, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century* [III.] (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); Gustav Steiner, *Mittel und Wege zur Helvetischen Revolution* [1797] (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertumsk., XXX.); Ed. Schweizer, *Die Entstehung der Dreissiger Wirren im Kanton Basel; eine Historische und Staatsrechtliche Untersuchung* [1830–1831] (*ibid.*).

E. N. C.

ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: Carlo Morandi, *Histoire d'Italie du XV^e^ au XVIII^e^ Siècle* [II.] (Rev. Hist., Mar.) Cesare Foligno, *Some Books on Italian History* (History, Apr.).

There still exist some 600 statutes of Italian communes anterior to the year 1400. This material has been in course of publication since 1912 in the Corpus Statutorum Italicorum, edited by Pierre Sella. Vol. XIV. includes part of the statutes of Modena and is entitled *Respublica Mutinensis 1306–1307 a cura di Emilio Paolo Vicini* (Milan, Hoepli, pp. 360).

The collection Scrittori d'Italia devotes two volumes to *Fra Paolo Sarpi; Lettere ai Protestanti*, edited by Busnelli (Bari, Laterza, 1931, pp. 288, 297).

Most of these letters have been published, but in incorrect editions, difficult to consult.

The life of Cardinal Alberoni is being told by Piero Castagnoli in three volumes, of which the first was concerned with his ministry in Spain (without portfolio) and the second deals with his flight and trial (1719–1734). The title is *Il Cardinale Alberoni* [II.]; *Il Processo* (Piacenza, 1931, pp. 359).

Fresh material for the history of the Italian national revival is contained in N. Tommaseo's *Venezia negli Anni 1848–49; Memorie Storiche Inedite* with preface and notes by P. Prunas [I.] (Florence, Lemonnier, 1931, pp. xciii, 420). The book constitutes vol. VII. of the collection Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento, edited by G. Gentile and M. Menghini.

A useful study of parliamentary evolution in one of the most progressive parts of Italy is to be found in *I Parlamenti di Sardegna nella Storia e nel Diritto Pubblico Comparato* by Antonio Marongiu (Rome, Anonima Romana Editoriale).

Articles: Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, *Sui Poteri Comitali del Vescovo di Piacenza* [10th–12th c.] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.); Ferdinando Rondolino, *Il Castello di Torino; Palazzo Madama nel Medioevo* (Atti della Soc. Piemont. di Arch. e Belle Arti, XIII.); Piero Maranzana, *Re Manfredi e le sue Origini Monferrine* (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Earl J. Hamilton, *En Période de Révolution Économique: la Monnaie en Castille, 1501–1650* [II.] (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., May); Giuseppe Agnello, *Memorie Inedite Varie sul Terremoto Siciliano del 1693* (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient., XXVII. 3); Umberto de Ferrari di Brignano, *La Nobiltà Tortonese secondo la Revisione Ordinata da Casa Savoia nel 1752 e nel 1776* (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie, l'Œuvre Intellectuelle* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Apr.); Lucia La Bella, *Vincenzo Fardella Marchese di Torrearsa i suoi Tempi e i suoi Amici* [I., 1848] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient. XXVII. 3); G. Emilio Curatulo, *Vittorio Emanuele e Garibaldi* (N. Antol., June 1); Vittorio Fainelli, *Come si Venne a Quarto; Documenti e Particolari Inediti* [Garibaldi and Sicily] (*ibid.*).

E. N. C.

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of Norwegian history for the year 1929, prepared by Reidar Omang, is published in the current issue of the (Norwegian) *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1932, 1). A similar though somewhat more extensive bibliography of Swedish history for the year 1931 is published by Percy Elfstrand in the (Swedish) *Historisk Tidskrift* (1932, 1).

The Danish Historical Society has recently published a useful volume on historical research and writing in Denmark to the year 1800, by Ellen

Jörgensen (*Historieforskning og Historieskrivning i Danmark indtil Aar 1800,* Copenhagen, 1931, pp. 266, 8 kr.).

Svenskarna i Finland och Estland, by Thorsten Wennerström, is a sympathetic account of the difficulties experienced by the Swedish Finlanders in Finland and Esthonia in their struggle to maintain their Swedish nationality in speech and culture (Gothenburg, 1931, pp. 319, 5:50 kr.).

The agrarian movement in Norway which developed considerable political strength in the thirties and forties of the past century has found a sympathetic student and historian in Arne Bergsgaard, who deals with it in a biography of its great leader and chieftain O. G. Ueland (*Ole Gabriel Ueland og Bondepolitiken,* Oslo, Aschehoug, 1932).

The personality, character, and purposes of Charles XII. continue to be matters for lively discussion and wide disagreement among Swedish historians. In the yearbook of the 'Caroline Society' (Karolinska Förbundet) for 1930 (publ. 1931), Per Engdahl (in *Karl XII.*) argues that the famous king was a many-sided personality, one of the greatest men of all time. On the other hand, Colonel Claes Bratt finds that he was a great military leader and nothing more; in government, culture and social problems he had no interest (*Karl XII. som Härförare,* Lund, Gleerup, 1931).

During the period since the World War Sweden has been engaged in the reconstruction of her educational system, and it is the possible influence of American experience which is discussed in *The Educational Crisis in Sweden,* by Christina Staël von Holstein Bogoslovsky (Columbia University Press, pp. xiv, 301, $3.50). The historical background is discussed in a preliminary chapter and this is followed by a description of the existing situation, as an introduction to the main theme.

The Esthonian state archives have recently published an account of the material they contain relating to Poland, which starts with the sixteenth century and is especially rich for the nineteenth. The documents are in Esthonian and German; the publication, which is by N. Treumuth and O. Lilu, is entitled *Polonica im Estnischen Staatlichen Zentralarchiv* with an appendix on material in other Esthonian archives (Tartu, Rigii Keskarchivi, 1931, pp. 159).

Professor Richard Salomon, of the University of Hamburg, in an article entitled Zur Lage der Geschichtswissenschaft in Russland (*Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte,* Heft 3, 1932), discusses the growing movement in Russia against historical studies which do not have an orthodox Marxian basis. Historians like Tarlé and Platonov are proscribed as conspirators. Professor Salomon limits his review to the period since 1930, supplementing, therefore, a presentation which Dr. Epstein had made in 1930 in an article on Die Marxistische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Sovietunion seit 1927.

The story of the Bolshevik revolution is told by one of its partisans, A. F. Ilyin-Genevsky, a student, who was conscripted, wounded, and finally placed on duty at Petrograd, in a little book entitled *From the February Revolution to the October Revolution, 1917* (International Publishers, 1931, pp. 121, $1.00).

Articles: J. Dünninger, *Untersuchungen zu Gǫngu-Hrólfs Saga* (Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi, 1931, 1–2); R. Ekblom, *Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer* (Namn och Bygd, 1931, 1–2); Olof Jägerskiöld, *Från San Stefano till Berlin* (Historisk Tidskrift, 1932, 1); Salomon Kraft, *Erikskrönikans Källor* [sources of the Eriks-chronicle] (*ibid.*); *Vardvakt og Strandvern langs Norges Sydvestkyst i det 17de Aarhundrede* [beacons and shoreguards along the southwestern coast of Norway in the seventeenth century] (Historisk Tidsskrift, Norwegian, 1932, 1); A. M. Tallgren, *Finland vid Slutet af Hednatiden* [Finland at the close of the heathen age] (Fornvännen, 1931); Éli F. Hecksher, *Un Grand Chapitre de l'Histoire du Fer: le Monopole Suédois* [II.] (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., May); Miron Korduba, *Der Ukraine Niedergang und Aufschwung* [conclusion] (Zeitsch. für Osteur. Gesch., Heft 3, 1932); Manfred Laubert, *Beiträge zur Verschwörung der Kosyniery in Posen und Polen* (*ibid.*); Michael T. Florinsky, *World Revolution and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June).

L. M. L.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following may be noted: Joseph Ball's letter-book, 1743–1780, and Gaspard Gabriel Baron de Gallatin's narrative of the voyage of Rochambeau's army to America and its march south, and his journal of the siege of Yorktown; a letter-book of John Sherman, 1837–1848, chiefly correspondence with his mother; papers of James A. Bourland relating to the Red River (Texas-Oklahoma) border, 1837–1867, about 175 pieces; 130 pieces relating to William H. Harrison, and 152 papers of or pertaining to Benjamin Harrison; 75 papers of Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia, 1842; 10 letters by Robert B. Roosevelt (father of Theodore Roosevelt) to his wife, June 4–July 1, 1862, and his narrative of the second expedition of the 71st New York Regiment to Washington; 11 portfolios of additional correspondence of Richard Olney, 1902–1925; typewritten biographies and letters (copies) of Rear-Admiral George C. Remey (16 volumes), Mary Josephine Mason Remey (17 volumes), and Judge Charles Mason of Iowa (17 volumes); a typed transcript of accounts kept by Tobias Lear for Washington, 1789–1791, from "Ledger G" in private possession; and many photostats of material from Europe. The five-year period of Mr. Rockefeller's great grant

for the procuring of such photocopies expired on August 31, but the Library expects to go forward with the procedure, though on a reduced scale, with its own means.

The *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress, to July, 1931,* compiled by Curtis Wiswell Garrison, has been reprinted from the last *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson's *Notes from the Archives of Scotland concerning America,* which appeared in the same report, has also been reprinted.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York have issued an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.* The author is Charles O. Paullin, of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. It also received the editorial care of Joseph K. Wright, of the American Geographical Society. The price is $15.00, and subscriptions may be sent to the American Geographical Society, Broadway, at 156th Street, New York City.

Everett E. Edwards, associate agricultural economist, United States Department of Agriculture, has prepared two important bibliographies: *Agriculture of the American Indians* and *Washington and Agriculture.* They are nos. 22 and 23 of the Bibliographical Contributions of the library of the department.

Bulletins nos. 94, 102, 104 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution are: Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California, by John P. Harrington; Menominee Music, by Frances Densmore; and A Survey of Prehistoric Sites in the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona, by Harold S. Colton. *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report* (1929–1930) of the bureau has also appeared. Aside from the official statement of M. W. Stirling, chief of the bureau, the volume (pp. 1108) includes papers embodying extended researches in Indian customs and lore, four dealing with Zuñi ceremonialism, myths, poetry, and Katcina, the dominant Zuñi cult.

Scripps' College Papers, no. 3, entitled *Lectures on Typical Americans and their Problems,* by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, includes four lectures: Jefferson and the Real Purpose of Democracy, Calhoun and the Divine Right of the Majority, Davis and the Validity of Sectionalism, and Roosevelt and the Stratification of Society.

Three sumptuous volumes privately printed for Edward Lee McClain, of Greenfield, Ohio, are entitled *The Washington Ancestry and Records of the McClain, Johnson, and Forty Other Colonial American Families.* The work was prepared by Charles Arthur Hoppin, genealogist, who has been engaged on the study since 1915. Public interest in the books is found in vol. I. which is concerned with the ancestry of General Washington in Virginia and in England. Many important documents are included. It was

through the great-aunt of General Washington, Anne Washington Wright, that the family of McClain is descended.

The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America (1523–1857), by Rev. Joseph A. Griffin, M.A., is a doctoral dissertation published under the auspices of the Catholic University of America (pp. 235). The author remarks that another long and interesting chapter might be written concerning the rôle of the American College of Louvain which was founded in 1857.

Among the cases studied by Maurice Soulié in *Les Procès Célèbres des États-Unis* (Payot, pp. 270, 18 fr.) are those of Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, Professor Webster, John Brown, and John Wilkes Booth. The author unhappily believes that the impulses which led to these crimes may be explained by certain characteristics which he considers typically American.

A paper entitled *A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875–1890*, which Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which is included in vol. LXIV. of its *Proceedings*, has been issued separately.

Articles: A. J. Wall, *Historical Records: their Lack of Care and Restoration* (Hist. Quar. of the New York Hist. Soc., Apr.); Bernard Duhr, *The Columbus Problem* (Mid-America, July); Francis Borgia Steck, *Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition* (*ibid.*); James J. Walsh, *Scholasticism in the Colonial Colleges* (New Eng. Quar., July); John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorists in America* [cont'd] (Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Mar.); Elizabeth S. Kite, *General Washington and the French Engineers: Duportail and Companions* (*ibid.*); Donnal V. Smith, *The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the North-West in the Election of 1860* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); W. Norwood Brigance, *Jeremiah Black and Andrew Johnson* (*ibid.*); Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz and Henry Cabot Lodge in 1884* (New Eng. Quar., July); Julius W. Pratt, *The "Large Policy" of 1898* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Kenneth W. Porter, *Trends in American Business Biography* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); M. J. Fields, *The International Steam Pump Company: an Episode in American Corporate History* (*ibid.*); James C. Malin, *The Background of the First Bills to Establish a Bureau of Markets* (Agricultural History, July).

NEW ENGLAND

Among the papers published in the *Transactions, 1927–1930*, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts are: Harvard College Lotteries, by John Noble; On the Panama Route during the Gold Rush to California, by Philip Putnam Chase; The Course of the Arbella from Cape Sable to Salem, by Samuel Eliot Morison. Another paper by Mr. Morison is on the Great

Rebellion in Harvard College, and the Resignation of President Kirkland. A new edition of the Autobiography of Thomas Shepard, based upon a fresh study of the manuscript, and following it exactly, is also included in the volume. The book is volume XXVII. of the *Publications* of the Society.

The Letters to Dr. Channing, 1837, edited by Fulmer Mood and Granville Hicks, and printed in the July *New England Quarterly,* will be read with especial interest by those who recall the Channing letters included in the Documents section of the *American Historical Review* for April.

The Connecticut Historical Society has published as a memorial to two of its distinguished members, Charles Jeremy Hoadly, and his brother, George Edward Hoadley, a collection of letters and documents found among the papers of Dr. Charles Hoadly and evidently assembled and prepared for publication by him. This *Hoadly Memorial* is vol. XXIV. of the *Collections* of the society (Hartford, the Society, pp. xv, 210). It is edited by Albert C. Bates, the corresponding secretary, who has added notes to those already prepared by Dr. Hoadly. The letters and papers belong to the period from 1642 to 1710. Although both brothers were interested in collecting historical papers, Dr. Charles seems to have been unable to persuade Mr. George to drop the letter "e" in the surname, which Charles regarded as an unhistorical intrusion.

Articles: Henry B. Parkes, *Morals in Colonial New England* (New Eng. Quar., July); Roy T. Honeywell, *Nathaniel Chipman* (*ibid.*); *Record of Entrances and Clearances of the Port of Salem, 1750–1769* [cont'd] (Essex Institute Hist. Coll., July).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The papers read before the New York State Historical Association at the Schenectady meeting last year are printed in the July number of *New York State History.*

The New York State Historical Association, with headquarters at Ticonderoga, has begun a state-wide survey of historical materials under the supervision of its new director, Julian P. Boyd. This survey will include MSS. in libraries and historical societies as well those in private hands so far as they can be discovered. A bibliography and inventory of New York newspapers is also planned. Materials for research have been so broadly defined as to permit almost anything relating to the backgrounds of life in New York to come within the scope of the survey. Economic and other related materials that have not hitherto been emphasized in the collections of local historical societies are being given prominent place in the survey. Large industries are being invited to protect their records and permit accredited students to use them. Thus the Witherbee, Sherman, and Company, hold-

ers of large iron ore deposits on Lake Champlain, and the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, the Lake George Steamboat Company, and the Lake Champlain Transportation Company, have granted permission to have their vast records included and to allow research students to use them. The survey has brought to light a considerable number of school and church records, justice of the peace dockets, account books, and other similar materials that were in private hands, chiefly in northern New York.

The New Jersey Historical Society is making a complete catalogue of its newspaper files and miscellaneous copies of newspapers.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has made important additions to its manuscript collections, among them the following: the original Grace Galloway diaries kept in Philadelphia from June 17, 1778, to Sept. 30, 1781, besides numerous Galloway letters, which, with the diary, are of great importance for the history of the Loyalists; 2156 miscellaneous manuscripts, including letters to Pierce Butler, surveys, accounts, plans, and invoices concerning Butler Island and the Pierce Butler estate; twenty-one patents for lots in Sunbury (1773–1776); five patents granted to Edward Tilghman in Wayne County (1810); and eighteen letters (1828–1845) relating to the Columbia Bank and Bridge Company of Lancaster. Another addition of much interest is six manuscript music books of the late eighteenth century, which belonged to Betsy and Eliza Henry. The society is preparing for publication a Register of the Jockey Club (1766–1773), from the original in its possession.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, launched in September, 1931, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the University of Pittsburgh, under the direction of Dr. Solon J. Buck, is pushing forward its initial projects, including a bibliography of published material on western Pennsylvania history; a survey of unpublished materials relating to the same subject to be found in American repositories outside the region and in Canadian, British, and French archives and libraries; a calendar of the materials thus found; a survey of the archival and other manuscript materials in the counties of western Pennsylvania; a bibliography and list of extant files of newspapers of the region; and the collection of materials as such, with due attention to the hitherto neglected history of "the newer immigration". Among the recent accessions of material, the most notable is a large collection of letters and documents including the papers of General James O'Hara, those of Major Ebenezer Denny, those of Harmar Denny, and miscellaneous material concerning the O'Hara and Denny families.

Articles: *The Amherst Expedition, Extract from Captain Moneypenny's Orderly Book* [in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum] (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, July); D. R. Fox, *Washington at Newburgh* (New

York State History, July); C. J. McCarthy, *Lieut.-Col. Francis Barber of Elizabethtown* (Proceedings of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., July); Charles W. Parker, *New Jersey Supreme Court of September Term, 1776* (*ibid.*); Maurice Jefferis Babb, *David Rittenhouse* [Commemoration Address on April 9, in connection with the Rittenhouse Bicentennial Celebration] (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., July); Matilda W. Evans, *Elihu Embree, Quaker Abolitionist, and some of his Co-Workers* (Bulletin of the Friends' Hist. Assoc., spring); T. Kenneth Wood, *The "Great Bend" of the Susquehanna River* [Journal of Samuel Harris, made during his survey in Bradford and Susquehanna counties in 1774] (Now and Then, July); Charles W. Dahlinger, *The Marquis Duquesne, Sieur de Menneville, Founder of the City of Pittsburgh* [cont'd] (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., May, Aug.); Louis E. Graham, *Fort McIntosh* (*ibid.*, May).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Virginia State Library has published pt. IV. of *A Bibliography of Virginia,* prepared by Wilmer L. Hall, assistant state librarian. It supplements pt. II., "recording three series of sessional documents of the House of Delegates of Virginia which are omitted from that publication".

In the July *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* appears the address of Dr. Charles M. Andrews on Virginia's Place in Colonial History, delivered before the Virginia Historical Society on the occasion of its centennial celebration, December 29, 1931. Dr. Andrews emphasizes the fact that the thirteen colonies were but parts of a larger colonial world and that the historian of the colonies must have an understanding of the influences which this larger world exercised upon the lives of the colonists. Virginia, says Dr. Andrews, surpassed all the other colonies of the New World "in the length of its membership in the British family, in the uniform and consistent development of its political and economic life, and in the completeness with which it seemed to conform to British expectations of what a colony should be". Indeed it was the only one of the colonies that presents all the characteristics of a normal British colony.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* has in the July number a letter, dated March 8, 1795, from St. George Tucker to James Monroe, then minister to France, relative to political matters in America. The letter is contributed by Monroe Johnson, together with some remarks, suggested by the letter, upon Washington Period Politics.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a group of letters (1784) from Captain, afterwards Major, Lawrence Butler of Westmoreland County, to Miss Anna F. Craddock of Leicestershire, England.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has added to its important manuscript material the Thomas M. Pittman Collection, brought together by Judge Pittman, for many years chairman of the commission. It contains 494 letters, 1775–1791; 227 business papers, 1755–1812; 82 letters and papers of James Cary, Loyalist, 1776–1807; Civil War papers—467 quartermaster's department records, 68 orders, 2 order books, 23 muster rolls; 404 pamphlets and broadsides. Another accession, the Mrs. L. O'B. Branch Papers, includes letters to Mrs. Branch from Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. The Marmaduke J. Hawkins Collection, containing 1179 letters and papers, is rich in political correspondence, broadsides, and pamphlets of the late nineteenth century. The material in another acquisition, the Crabtree Jones Collection, includes letters and papers going back as far as 1771.

Baron Marc de Villiers has published in vol. XXIII., fascicle 2, of the *Journal* of the Société des Américanistes, a poem written by Dumont de Montigny and entitled *Poème en Vers touchant l'Établissement de la Province de la Loüisianne connüee sous le Nom du Missispy avec tout ce qui s'y est passé de depuis 1716 jusqu'à 1741*, etc. It is illustrated with sketches by Montigny. The manuscript is preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The interest of the poem lies in the fact that the author furnished Le Mascrier the material for *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, published in Paris in 1753.

Articles: Paul H. Giddens, *Maryland and the Stamp Act Controversy* (Maryland Hist. Mag., June); Henry J. Berkley, *Colonel Isaac Shelby and other Maryland Heroes of the Battle of King's Mountain* (*ibid.*); Clifford Millard, *The Acadians in Virginia* (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., July); Ralph B. Flanders, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Georgia* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., July); A. R. Newsome, ed., *A British Orderly Book, 1780–1781* [III.] (*ibid.*); Adelaide L. Fries, *North Carolina Certificates of the Revolutionary War Period* (*ibid.*); John Parish, jr., *Historical Sketch of Jackson County, North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Record, July); Theodore D. Jervey, ed., *Garth Correspondence* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780–1781* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); John P. Corry, *Education in Colonial Georgia* (Georgia Hist. Quar., June); David M. Potter, jr., *Rise of the Plantation System in Georgia* (*ibid.*); W. H. Siebert, *Spanish and French Privateering in Southern Waters, July, 1762, to March, 1763* (*ibid.*, Sept.); Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Spanish Expedition against Fort St. Joseph in 1781* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); A. Curtis Wilgus, *Official Expression of Manifest Destiny Sentiment concerning Hispanic America, 1848–1871* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., July); Francis P. Burns, *West Florida and the Lousiana Purchase* (*ibid.*); John Smith Kendall, *The Last Days of Charles Gayarré* (*ibid.*); W. S. Cleaves, *Lorenzo de Zavala in Texas* (S. W.

Hist. Quar., July); Francis Borgia Steck, *Forerunners of Captain de Leon's Expedition to Texas, 1670–1675* (*ibid.*); J. Evetts Haley, ed., *A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854* [by James G. Bell] (*ibid.*).

WESTERN STATES

In the series entitled Overland to the Pacific, a Documentary and Narrative History of the Far West, edited by Professor Archer Butler Hulbert, and published coöperatively by the Stewart Commission on Western History of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, the volumes are to appear at the rate of three each year. Vol. I., which is announced for Dec. 1, is entitled *The Lure of the Old Southwest.* It will be concerned chiefly with the work of Zebulon Pike. The price of each volume is $5.00, and subscriptions may be sent to the Stewart Commission, Colorado College, or to the Denver Public Library.

The Indiana *History Bulletin,* vol. IX., no. 8, is devoted to a *Bibliography on Indian Archaeology,* compiled by Eli Lily. The lists are arranged by counties.

Among the manuscripts of importance recently added to the Illinois State Historical Library are a Report of William Keith, governor of the province of Pennsylvania, to the lords of trade on Indian affairs and the fur trade (1710); the fee book of Lincoln and Herndon, in Herndon's handwriting; and a manuscript of 128 pages, by an unidentified author, giving an interesting account of the author's journey from Liverpool through the Middle States and down the Mississippi to New Orleans, under the title of Heads and Tales of a Voyage in 1827 to and from America. The library announces the early publication of the second volume of the *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning.*

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1931, include, besides the annual report, the papers read at the thirty-second annual meeting and two contributions to state history. Among them is a paper by Dr. James A. Barnes, of Temple University, on Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890–1896, and a paper by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, on Leaders in American Immigration.

Brief Biographies of the Figurines on Display in the Illinois State Historical Library, compiled by Georgia L. Osborne, librarian, and Emma B. Scott, gives short sketches of the 129 Illinois women represented in the figurines. The figurines were modeled by Helmut Schmidt and were the gift of his mother, Mrs. Minna Schmidt. Each appears in the dress of the period to which she belonged.

The library of the University of Chicago has recently received the papers

of Wyndham Robertson, governor of Virginia, consisting of about 10,000 pieces, for the period 1836–1860, many of them of an economic nature.

The Theatre on the Frontier: the Early Years of the St. Louis Stage, by William G. B. Carson (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. xi, 361, $3.00), is a painstaking chronicle of the first twenty-five years of dramatic activity in St. Louis, from a conjuring act in 1814, to the year 1839, when the flourishing company of Noah M. Ludlow and Sol Smith was performing in a real theater building, often supporting actors who had starred in New York and London. The author traces this development season by season, recording in full the plays, their casts, the reception given them in the press, and the buildings in which they were housed. His book will be valuable to all students of the western theater. C. P. M.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume entitled *Amana That Was and Amana That Is,* by Mrs. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. The first part of this volume is a reprint of Mrs. Shambaugh's volume *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration,* published by the State Historical Society in 1908. The Amana Society (formerly one of the few communistic groups in the United States), has recently changed from a communistic society to a joint stock corporation. The second part of the new volume deals with the community as it is now organized.

In its Bulletin of Information series the State Historical Society of Iowa has issued *Two Hundred Topics in Iowa History,* compiled by William J. Petersen, research associate. This has grown out of a modest beginning in 1904 with twenty-five topics entitled *An Iowa Program for Study Clubs.* The topics are classified and under each is given a comprehensive list of references.

The failure of Senator Brookhart to be renominated gives an added interest to *The Brookhart Campaigns in Iowa, a Study in the Motivation of Political Attitudes,* Dr. Jerry Alvin Neprash, of Franklin and Marshall College (Columbia University Press, pp. 128, $2.25). The volume belongs to the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

The collection of German immigrant letters undertaken by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is receiving important accessions. The correspondents of the society in Germany have obtained copies of the letters belonging to the library of the University of Bonn. Copies have also been secured of letters in private collections in the United States. Among the latter is a group of several hundred letters assembled by Alfred Gattiker, a Swiss who settled at Baraboo, Wisconsin, where he became an important center of communication for Swiss immigrants in New Glarus, La Crosse County, Sauk County, Chicago, and New York. The society has also added to the Fairchild Collection a group of letters by General Fairchild and Sena-

tor Spooner bearing upon an election contest between the two. The characteristics of the two men are well illustrated.

Three counties in the southwestern corner of Wisconsin have been the source of special study by Dr. Joseph Schafer for the Wisconsin Historical Society (*The Wisconsin Lead Region,* Madison, pp. vi, 341.) This lead mining region was the "magnet which drew the first large body of settlers to Wisconsin, the economic cause of the organization of the new territory, and the basis of its first bloom of prosperity". 1847 marked the peak of the lead production; by 1860 the counties were rapidly turning to farming. In this fact the section is geologically unique, it seems, for seldom are ideal farming conditions found combined with productive mining opportunity. The book also deals with the development of agriculture and analyzes population changes in the region. It is vol. III. of the Domesday Book series published by the society.

The Minnesota Historical Society has published *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank B. Mayer* as the first volume in a series of Narratives and Documents, under the general editorship of Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society. Bertha L. Heilbron, the society's assistant editor, has edited the volume, which is illustrated by about fifty of Mayer's drawings. Mayer was a young artist who traveled from his home in Baltimore to the Minnesota frontier, where he attended the negotiation of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux and made hundreds of drawings of Indians and scenes in the region. His original diary, together with many of his drawings, is in the Newberry Library at Chicago. Several other volumes are projected for the Narratives and Documents series. The society announces for publication in September the second and final volume of a history of *Minnesota in the War with Germany,* by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel, edited by Solon J. Buck, formerly superintendent of the society. This volume will deal with the civilian aspects of the state's participation in the World War. A volume of Indian missionary records is being edited for publication by Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of archives.

A Civil War collection of approximately twenty-five hundred books, pamphlets, and documents has recently come into the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. This collection, which represents the lifelong interest of the late Judge Torrance, a Minneapolis lawyer and formerly national commander of the G. A. R., places strong emphasis upon the history of the Confederacy as well as upon the national history of the G. A. R. In addition the society has acquired thirty-five pieces of correspondence by Charles A. Lindbergh, senior, relating to the publication of his volume entitled *The Economic Pinch;* fourteen rare pamphlets dealing with the Bohemian element in Minnesota; and one hundred and twenty volumes and

boxes of state archives from the office of the secretary of state, consisting chiefly of legislative records from 1856 to 1910 and election returns from 1900 to 1912. The society is launching a project for collecting church records and other materials of value for the social history of the state.

The Minnesota Historical Survey being conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society under the direction of Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum, is making steady progress. Complete records for about two hundred and fifty historic markers and monuments have been completed. A comprehensive report for the entire state is the goal of this survey, an important feature of which is relocation of the Red River trails. In addition the society, in conjunction with the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, is compiling a bibliography and inventory of files of Minnesota newspapers.

The centenary of the discovery of Lake Itasca, the source of the Mississippi, by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, was celebrated as the climax of the eleventh annual summer tour and convention conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society, from July 14 to 16. Sessions were held at Alexandria, Fergus Falls, Moorhead, and Lake Itasca. Among those who presented papers were Grace Lee Nute, Clyde A. Duniway of Carleton College, Verne E. Chatelain of the National Park Service, Agnes Larson of St. Olaf College, Theodore C. Blegen, William Marin, and William Goetzinger. An extended historical account by Mr. Blegen of Schoolcraft's discovery was published as part of the program for a pageant presented by Chippewa Indians, reënacting the scenes of 1832.

The Kansas State Historical Society has received the papers of the late Charles S. Gleed, a leader both at the bar and in the business enterprises of the state. It comprises about 25,000 pieces. Another interesting accession is a group of sixty letters written by Thomas C. Wells, one of the founders of Manhattan, Kans., to relatives in Rhode Island. They throw light upon that stirring period of Kansas history from 1855 to 1860.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* prints in the April issue the journal of Ensign J. H. Bond of the Royal Canadian Rifles, recording a journey in July, 1860, from Kingston, Ontario, to Fort Garry, on the Red River. The journal is edited by Arthur H. Moehlman, who remarks: "There exist few contemporary accounts of transportation in the Red River country as valuable as Bond's."

The part which Fort Hall, in southeastern Idaho, played in the westward movement is told in a book entitled *Fort Hall on the Oregon Trail,* by Jennie Broughton Brown (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, pp. 466). The fort, founded in 1834 by Nathaniel Wyeth, was at the strategic point where the Trail branched for California and Salt Lake City. The opening

up of the Columbia and Snake River valleys, the development of the Trail, the life in and near Fort Hall and its later history, as well, are described in the book. It is profusely illustrated.

In the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* appears the Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory in the spring of 1844, by N. Sayre Harris, secretary and general agent of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is edited by Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

Under the leadership of the state historian of Arizona, Effie R. Keen, a survey is being made of material in the Round Valley region, on the head waters of the Little Colorado, which may bear upon the Mexican and non-Mormon history of the section. The state is also planning a system of historical markers on its highways.

The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816, by August C. Mahr, professor of German in Ohio State University, belongs to the Stanford University Publications in History, Economics, and Political Science (Stanford University Press, pp. 194, 7 plates, $2.00). The volume is a happy expression of the author's devotion to the city at the Golden Gate. The *Rurik* was ostensibly engaged upon a scientific expedition, financed by the ex-chancellor Romanzow, but Professor Mahr inclines to the opinion that the main purpose of the expedition was to spy out the land and to discover what chances there were for Russian expansion at the expense of the Spanish colonial empire. The volume contains extracts from the diary of the botanist of the expedition, Adelbert von Chamisso; from the report of the captain, Otto von Kotzebue; from the description of San Francisco by the artist, Louis Choris; and from Spanish documents touching the visit. The last are now published for the first time. The illustrations are from lithographs by Choris.

The Oregon Historical Society is engaged upon an index of the first thirty-two volumes of its *Quarterly.*

The June number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains the second installment of General Henry L. Abbott's journal of his railroad surveys in 1855, edited by Robert W. Sawyer, and also the second installment of a journal of Columbia River Exploration, 1792 (presumably by Edward Bell), edited by J. Neilson Barry. In this number also Robert C. Clark gives a comprehensive account of the several explorations from 1826 to 1860 of what is known as the Harney Basin. Particular interest in the basin has arisen in consequence of a proclamation of President Roosevelt in 1909 setting aside parts of the beds of Lakes Malheur and Harney as a bird refuge and the further consequence of a recent suit to determine title to the lands.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* prints in the July number a portion of the diary of Doctor W. F. Tolmie, April to June, 1833, relating to the country about Forts Vancouver and Nisqually. Professor Edmond S.

Meany furnishes an introduction. To the same magazine T. C. Elliot contributes the third and final of three journals kept by David Thompson during his travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811 through the Pend Oreille country.

In *Koamalu: a Story of Pioneers on Kauai and of what they built on that Island Garden* Ethel M. Damon has written the history of the Rice family, especially of Mrs. William Harrison Rice and her son-in-law Paul Isenberg. The two volumes contain much also of the tradition and history of the Hawaiian Islands. They are privately printed.

Articles: Samuel M. Wilson, *George Washington's Contacts with Kentucky* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., July); Francis L. Ewing, *The Senatorial Career of the Hon. Felix Grundy* [cont'd] (Tennessee Hist. Mag., Jan.); William E. Beard, *Democracy's Two-Thirds Rule rounds out a Century* (*ibid.*); John Umble, *The Allen County, Ohio, Memnonite Settlement* (Memnonite Quar. Rev., Apr.); N. T. Gentry, *Proposed Railroads in Northeast Missouri* (Missouri Hist. Rev., July); M. N. Squires, *The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri* (*ibid.*); Charles A. Weissert, *The Indians of Barry County and the Work of Leonard Slater, the Missionary* (Michigan Hist. Mag., summer); Fred W. Lerch, *Iowa and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., July); George L. Collie, *A distinguished Son of Wisconsin: Thomas C. Chamberlin* [V.] (Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., June); Dudley S. Brainerd, *Nininger, a Boom Town of the Fifties* (Minnesota History, June); Marvin H. Garfield, *Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866–1867* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Aug.); Cortez A. M. Ewing, *Early Kansas Impeachments* (*ibid.*); Edgar B. Wesley, *Some Official Aspects of the Fur Trade in the Northwest, 1815–1825* (North Dakota Hist. Quar., April); Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *The Black Hills Gold Rush* [letters to the Fairibault *Republican* in 1875 and 1876] (*ibid.*); Earl W. Hayter, *The Ponca Removal* (*ibid.*); Edward Davis, *The Mississippi Choctaws* (Chron. of Oklahoma, June); Martha Buntin, *Quaker Indian Agents of Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Reservation* (*ibid.*); Ruth K. Barber, *Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies* [II.] (New Mexico Hist. Rev., July); Charles Amsden, *Navaho Origins* (*ibid.*); Waldo Schumacher, *Thirty Years of the People's Rule in Oregon: an Analysis* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); W. M. Underhill, *The Northern Overland Route to Montana* (Washington Hist. Quar., July); E. E. Hale, *Geographical Terms in the Far West* (Dialect Notes, vol. VI., pt. 4).

CANADA

Vol. IV. of the University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics is entitled *Contributions to Canadian Economics.* It includes Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady, by R. H. Fleming, Canadian Imperial Economic History, by C. R. Fay, and a Bibliography of Publications on Cana-

dian Economics, 1930–1, by M. L. Bladen (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, pp. 120).

Articles: E. R. Adair, *Dollard des Ormeaux and the Fight at the Long Sault* and Gustave Lanctôt, *Was Dollard the Saviour of New France?* (Can. Hist. Rev., June); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *A Footnote to the Quebec Act* (*ibid.*); Roland Wilson, *Migration Movements in Canada, 1868–1925* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Robert Ricard, *La Période Coloniale de l'Histoire du Mexique d'après les Publications Récentes* (Rev. Hist., May).

Vol. II. of the *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (Seville, Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia) contains summaries of the contents of 1900 juridical records pertaining to the Spanish colonies in America during the sixteenth century. Eighteen appendixes provide reprints in full of as many documents, and several photographic facsimiles of pages of the manuscripts. There are four indexes of materials, persons, places, and actuaries; and a list of the ships mentioned in the volume.

Trois Précurseurs de l'Indépendance des Démocraties Sud-Américaines. by Édouard Clavery (Paris, Fernand Michel), discusses the influence of France and the French Revolution on Miranda, precursor of independence in Venezuela, on Nariño in New Granada, and on Espejo in Ecuador. In this little book of 192 pages, the author advocates the thesis that it was the example of France which brought about Spanish American independence. He concludes with a brief essay on the importance which Bolívar attributed to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

A subject not often written about by English and American authors is that of the relation of Germany to the independence of the South American republics. It is therefore refreshing to find among the original articles in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Buenos Aires), nos. 51–52, an article entitled "Alemania ante la Independencia Sudamericana entre los Anos 1810–1825". The author, Iso Brante Schweide, attributes to Prussia great interest in the independence movements, and to the Hanseatic cities a desire for South American trade, yet he is unable to find recognition of the independence of the Spanish American republics by Prussia until 1825. Having mentioned the well-known writings of Alexander von Humboldt, he admits that the Prussian government had no information about the state of affairs in South America, except from reports from Count Fleming, its minister in Rio de Janeiro.

The publication of the Archivo del General Miranda has now reached vol. XII.

No. 24 of the Monografias Bibliográficas Mexicanas is a handsome little volume by Manuel Romero de Terreros, entitled *Encuadernaciones Artísticas Mexicanas, Siglos XVI. al XIX.* A short sketch of the history of bookbinding in Mexico from the 16th to the 19th century is followed by a collection of engravings showing characteristic examples of book bindings from the collections of the author and of other Mexican bibliophiles. Then come seven plates illustrating thirty-six trade-marks of 19th century bookbinders, brief descriptions of the bindings, a list of bookbinders arranged by cities, and an index.

The volume entitled *Bosquejo Histórico de la Agregación a Mexico de Chiapas y Socunusco,* which was written by Andrés Clemente Vázquez to complete the work of similar title published in 1877 by Matías Romero, describes the history of the negotiations concerning the boundaries between Mexico and Guatemala or Central America. It is largely made up of hitherto unpublished documents, many of which were found in the secret archives of the ministry of foreign relations, and is published by that department as no. 36 of its Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano.

Nos. 50 and 51 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Caracas), in which are published the indexes of the manuscripts in the national archives of Venezuela, carry the list of accessions through April, 1932.

On Jan. 15, 1932, was formally organized at Panama the Academia Panameña de la Historia, with Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro as director and Don Juan Antonio Susto as perpetual secretary and with relations of affiliation to the Madrid Academy of History.

Dr. Harry T. Collings's lecture on the *Trade Relations of the United States with Latin America* has been translated into German and published at Leipzig by Ernst Schultze as no. 7 of the Weltwirtschaftliche Vorträge und Abhandlungen, with the title *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Latein-Amerika.*

A. H.

Articles: A. S. Aiton, *Spanish Colonial Reorganization under the Family Compact* (Hispan. Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.); Charles E. Chapman, *The Age of the Caudillos: a Chapter in Spanish American History* (*ibid.*).

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, Alfred Hasbrouck, Albert Hyma (The Netherlands), W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, Catherine P. Mitchell, and G. C. Sellery.